DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 447 003 SO 031 094

AUTHOR	Hilbert, Sarah; Lawson, Victoria
TITLE	Global Change and Urbanization in Latin America. Hands-On! Developing Active Learning Modules on the Human Dimensions of Global Change.
INSTITUTION	Association of American Geographers, Washington, DC.
SPONS AGENCY	National Science Foundation, Arlington, VA.
ISBN	ISBN-0-89291-247-2
PUB DATE	1997-00-00
NOTE	136p.; Module developed for the AAG/CCG2 Project "Developing Active Learning Modules on the Human Dimensions of Global Change." For related items, see SO 031 087, SO 031 089-093, and SO 031 096.
CONTRACT	DUE-9354651
AVAILABLE FROM	Association of American Geographers, 1710 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC 20009-3198; Tel: 202-234-1450; Fax: 202-234-2744; Web site: (http://www.aag.org/).
PUB TYPE	Guides - Classroom - Teacher (052)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Active Learning; Demography; Developing Nations; Foreign Countries; Global Approach; Higher Education; Human Geography; *Rural to Urban Migration; Socioeconomic Influences; Thematic Approach; Thinking Skills; Undergraduate Study; *Urbanization
IDENTIFIERS	*Global Change; *Latin America

ABSTRACT

This learning module aims to engage students in problem solving, critical thinking, scientific inquiry, and cooperative learning. The module is appropriate for use in any introductory or intermediate undergraduate course that focuses on human-environment relationships. The module examines how social, economic, political, and environmental forces operating at the global scale are linked to rapid urban changes in Latin America. After exploring spatial patterns and temporal trends in urbanization, the module focuses on the factors driving rural-to-urban migration. It emphasizes the local level experience of global forces, considering the decision to move, gender issues, concerns of native peoples, and quality of life in the urban environment. The module contains a guide, 6 tables, 2 figures, a list of acronyms, a summary, an overview, a glossary, references for all units, supporting materials, and an appendix with suggested readings. It is divided into thematically coherent units, each of which consists of background information, teaching suggestions, student worksheets, and the answers expected for each activity. (BT)

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HANDS-ON!

Global Change and Urbanization in Latin America

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SO 031 094

An Active Learning Module
on the
Human Dimensions of Global Change

HANDS-ON!

DEVELOPING ACTIVE
LEARNING MODULES ON THE
HUMAN DIMENSIONS OF GLOBAL CHANGE

Global Change and Urbanization in Latin America

Module developed for the AAG/CCG2 Project
"Developing Active Learning Modules on the Human Dimensions of Global Change"

by

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Developing Active Learning Modules on the Human Dimensions of Global Change
"Global Change and Urbanization in Latin America"

ISBN 0-89291-247-2

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Washington, DC 20009-3198
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Project director, Susan Hanson, Clark University, acknowledges the support of the National Science Foundation (NSF) to the Association of American Geographers (AAG) (Grant No. DUE-9354651) for the development of these teaching materials. Administrative support is provided through the AAG's Second Commission on College Geography (CCG2) and the AAG's Educational Affairs Director, Osa Brand, and her staff. General project support is provided by Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, which also hosted a workshop in which this module was further developed. The hard work of the workshop participants evident in these materials is greatly appreciated. Kay Hartnett, Clark University, gave most generous and proficient graphic design advice. Module authors, co-authors, and other contributors are solely responsible for the opinions, findings, and conclusions stated in this module which do not necessarily reflect the views of the NSF or AAG.

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Editor's Note

A major goal of this project, "Developing Active Learning Modules on the Human Dimensions of Global Change," is to disseminate instructional materials that actively engage students in problem solving, challenge them to think critically, invite students to participate in the process of scientific inquiry, and involve them in cooperative learning. The materials are appropriate for use in any introductory and intermediate undergraduate course that focuses on human-environment relationships.

We have designed this module so that instructors can adapt it to a wide range of student abilities and institutional settings. Because the module includes more student activities and more suggested readings than most instructors will have time to cover in their courses, instructors will need to select those readings and activities best suited to the local teaching conditions.

Many people in addition to the principle authors have contributed to the development of this module. In addition to the project staff at Clark University, the participants in the 1996 summer workshop helped to make these materials accessible to students and faculty in a variety of settings. Their important contributions are recognized on the title page. This module is the result of a truly collaborative process, one that we hope will enable the widespread use of these materials in diverse undergraduate classrooms. We have already incorporated the feedback we have received from the instructors and students who have used this module, and we intend to continue revising and updating the materials.

I invite you to become part of this collaborative venture by sending your comments, reactions, and suggested revisions to us at Clark. To communicate with other instructors using hands-on modules, we invite you to join the Hands-on listserve we have established. We look forward to hearing from you and hope that you will enjoy using this module.

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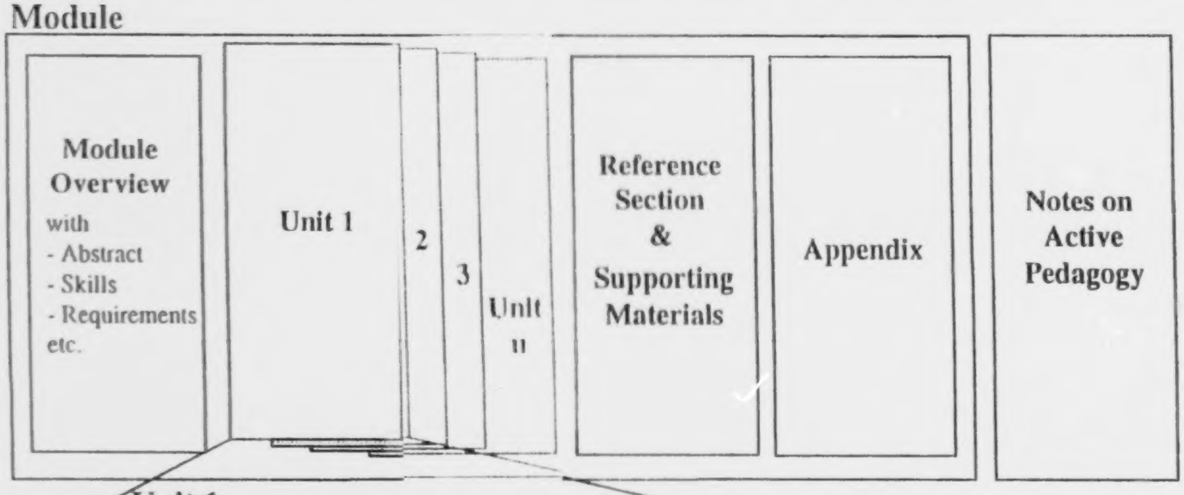
List of Acronyms

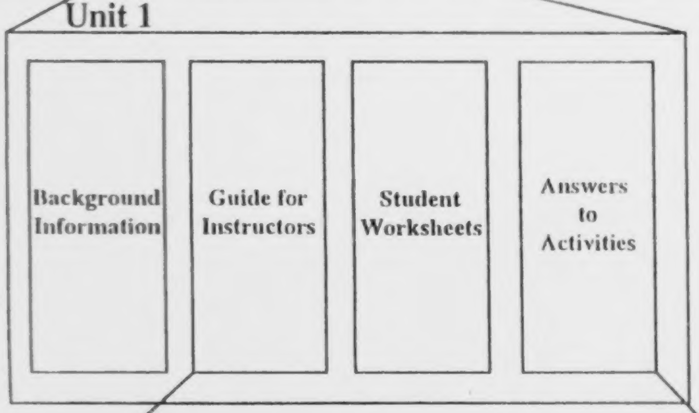
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISI	Import Substitution Industrialization
LDC	Lesser Developed Country
MDC	More Developed Country
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NTAE	Non-Traditional Agricultural Exports
NIDL	New International Division of Labor
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
TNC	Transnational Corporation
UN	United Nations
WWW	World Wide Web

Guide to this Module

This guide is meant to help you navigate this module.

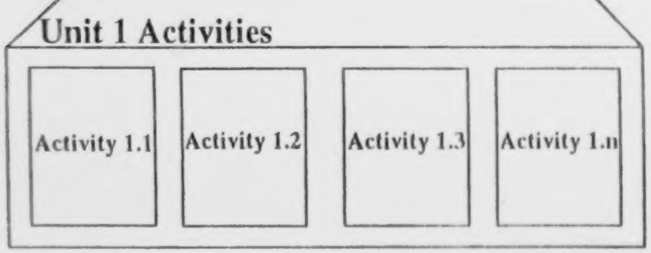


The module is divided into Units, i.e., sections that are thematically coherent and that could, if necessary, stand alone. In addition, the module contains a Reference Section, Supporting Materials and an Appendix. The Supporting Materials can be used to facilitate the teaching of this module or simply to augment it with interesting ideas and information. Additional sections with further information may or may not be present, e.g., a list of accronyms, or a glossary. A separate section on Active Pedagogy comes with every module purchase.



Each Unit consists of Background Information that can be used as a hand-out for students or as the basis for an in-class presentation; an Instructor's Guide, consisting of suggestions on how to teach the various learning activities associated with a given Unit; Student Worksheets; and the Answers expected for each activity.

Each activity has its own Student Worksheet that can be used as a student hand-out.



The activities are geared toward the theme(s) and concepts discussed in a particular Unit. The particular skills and themes emphasized vary among the activities. Choose one or more activities per unit to fit your class size, time, resources, overall course topics, and student skill levels. Be sure to vary the types of activities you choose throughout the module.

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Summary: Global Change and Urbanization in Latin America

Abstract

This module examines how social, economic, political, and environmental forces operating at the global scale are linked to rapid urban changes in Latin America. After exploring spatial patterns and temporal trends in urbanization, the module focuses on the push and pull factors driving rural-to-urban migration. The module emphasizes the local level experience of global forces, considering the decision to move, gender issues, concerns of native peoples, and quality of life in the urban environment.

Module Objectives

After completing this module, students should have:

- ✔ formed an understanding of the processes and patterns of urbanization in Latin America;
- ✔ explored the factors and forces contributing to rural-to-urban migration;
- ✔ critically considered issues of identity, gender, immigrant status, quality of life, and societal values;
- ✔ developed a sophisticated awareness of the many linkages between different geographic scales; and
- ✔ learned how to synthesize information from both qualitative and quantitative sources into an integrated analysis.

Skills

- ✔ Interpreting documents, maps, reports, films, and statistical information
- ✔ Creating maps to convey information
- ✔ Synthesizing and displaying information in a poster presentation
- ✔ Working cooperatively in group projects and engaging in group discussion
- ✔ Role playing

Activities

Types of activities designed for individuals, pairs, small groups, and/or the entire class include:

- ✔ writing (essays, TV scripts, newspaper articles, and/or reports)
- ✔ small group team work
- ✔ interviewing panel guests
- ✔ role playing and debate
- ✔ agenda setting for a conference
- ✔ library and Internet research
- ✔ analyzing articles, maps, personal accounts, films, and numerical data
- ✔ creating maps and tables

Material Requirements

- ✔ Student Worksheets (provided)
- ✔ Supporting Materials (provided)
- ✔ Suggested readings
- ✔ maps
- ✔ optional film (to be ordered)
- ✔ materials to create posters
- ✔ overhead projector or chalkboard
- ✔ pencils and paper

Human Dimensions of Global Change Concepts

- ✔ Reasons for the growth of megacities
- ✔ Linkages between events and forces at the global level and choices and decisions at the local level
- ✔ Impacts of the urban system on the natural environment

Geography Concepts

- ✔ Scale
- ✔ Core-periphery relations
- ✔ Human systems
- ✔ Physical environment

Time Requirements

A minimum of 6 class units (assuming that 1 or 2 of the activities in each unit are completed).

Difficulty

Introductory to intermediate. The text for this module is moderately challenging. The activities can be adapted for various class situations depending on time constraints, class size, material availability, and students' familiarity with the subjects.

Module Overview

Urbanization in developing countries is linked to social, economic, political, and environmental forces at a variety of geographic scales. Transformations taking place around the world, including the growth of multinational corporations, the spread of global communications networks, and the increase in international labor migration flows, have a profound impact on the process of urbanization at the global scale as well as at the local and individual levels. This module focuses on the urbanization process in Latin America with the aim of unraveling some of the interconnected forces that drive urbanization in these countries. We consider the causes and effects of rapid urban change in Latin America, especially the macroforces producing change in the countryside that impel people to move to cities. The module also explores how and why select groups experience the urbanization process differently.

The module begins by exploring the spatial patterns and temporal trends in urbanization, particularly within Latin America. Students investigate the role played by Latin American countries as global change transforms the international economic, environmental, social, and political arenas; rural-to-urban migration surfaces as a major driving force of rapid urbanization. The second unit focuses on the numerous push and pull factors driving rural-to-urban migration and examines how these forces are interconnected at a variety of geographic scales. Students investigate the impact of structural forces, including the International Monetary Fund debt crisis, as well as technological changes transforming agriculture and natural resource use. A common theme throughout the module is the exploration of how these global processes manifest themselves at the local level. Unit 2 emphasizes the local impact of global forces by exploring gender issues, the decisions of individuals to move, and the concerns of native peoples. The final unit includes discussion and activities addressing the impact of rapid urbanization on the quality of life in the urban environment; it considers issues of homelessness and informal shelter, the informal work sector, and poverty.

The module activities range from role playing and debates to creating television newscasts and thematic maps. Activities call on students to interpret and analyze a wide range of material including such sources as newspaper and journal articles, personal accounts of recent immigrants, films, maps, and/or numerical data. Activities involving research tasks are structured so that students can make use of either traditional library resources or the Internet and World Wide Web. Some activities ask students to work independently on creative writing assignments, but many others involve team work in small groups or open class discussions. The activities are designed to guide students in actively developing a wide range of skills including: (1) careful interpretation of documents, maps, reports, films, and statistical information, (2) synthesizing and displaying information in a presentation, (3) creating maps to convey information, (4) working cooperatively in group projects and engaging in group discussions, and (5) role identification and play.

1

Urbanization and Global Change

Background Information

Introduction: Extending the Global Change Agenda

Change has long been a constant feature of our world, yet contemporary change seems distinctive in its pace and geographic scope. Current change is characterized by a rapid reordering of time and space, facilitated by the integration of financial systems, the internationalization of production and consumption, and the spread of global communication networks. In the past, changes were arguably more spatially bounded and limited in scope, and people and places had more time to adjust. Today, changes include the free flow of capital, the growth of multinational corporations, international labor migration flows, and the emergence of a global mass culture. We use the term *globalization* to refer to global changes of this kind. In particular, we focus on the impacts of globalization on urban processes in Latin America. We examine the causes and effects of rapid urban change in Latin America, specifically addressing the macroforces producing change in the countryside that impel people to move to cities, and how and why certain groups experience the urbanization process differently.

We approach this topic through a **political-economic perspective**.[1] This approach emphasizes how political and economic structures shape opportunities and constraints for different groups of people. Knox (1994) defines this approach as one that operates at the scale of macroeconomic, macro-social, and macro-political changes. The rapidly changing nature of cities, as they are incorporated into the capitalist search for cheaper labor, resources, and larger markets, reflects broader transformations occurring under globalization. But the political-economic perspective is not exclusively directed at a macro-scale (the supra-national and global); it also applies at a national and a city level. The political-economic perspective on globalization expands the concept of global change.

The phrase *global change* has come to be associated with global environmental change, such as that resulting from changes in the earth's climate-control mechanisms (e.g., global warming). The rapid pace of technological change has made us all the more aware of the interconnection of the world system and has helped foreground the global impacts of, for example, deforestation or industry's contribution to the depletion of the earth's protective ozone shield. Moreover, the activities and attitudes of humans in their race toward modernization has been thoroughly implicated in these changes, as demonstrated by the themes emerging from the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

---

[1] Words that appear in boldface can be found in the *Glossary*.

It is interesting that much of the global change debate has been framed, both implicitly and explicitly, in terms of the physical and biological dimensions of our world. Although these issues are as important in urban areas as they are as in rural areas, more analytical attention has been devoted to areas of food production (agricultural regions) or of raw material extraction (forests, mineral deposits, etc.), and the investigation often stops with the "natural" environment. This point was not lost on Alfredo Gastal, Director of the United Nations Office of Environment and Human Settlement, when he said, "it was really ironic for those of us who went to the Rio Summit . . . . Everyone there was worrying about trees and rainforests, and they were in the city that best exemplifies the worst problem in Latin America, and nothing was said about it" (Nash 1992, 116). We agree that the degradation of cities and the forces producing those changes have been a neglected topic in the global change research agenda. Although urban and economic geographers have paid substantial attention to political-economic processes, these understandings have not been linked with research on the human dimensions of global change.

Just as we are living through a period of pronounced alterations in the physical environment, we are also experiencing significant changes in the form and spatial organization of the built environment, especially cities. In this era of globalization, cities have become a symbol of the transformations of economies and societies, transformations that simultaneously alter the biological dimensions of our planet. Indeed, a closer examination of the built environments of cities would expand our understanding of the many different aspects of global change, highlighting not only the degradation of the earth's natural surroundings, but also showing us the changing social and economic relations that are integral to our changing world. Geography is uniquely positioned to investigate these issues because it addresses the linkages between nature and society, as well as between global and local scales. Our geographic approach therefore helps us to investigate the far-reaching effects of globalization and the ways in which these effects play out in specific places and in the lives of the people who live there.

The Momentum is Swinging South

When we consider that by 2025 over 5 billion of the earth's estimated 8.3 billion inhabitants will live in urban areas (WRI 1996), it is clear that to ignore urban environments is foolish. But when exactly is a settlement considered a city or an urban place? Data on city size or percentage of urban population depend on how "city" or "urban" is defined, and those definitions can vary a great deal from country to country reflecting what is historically, culturally, and politically urban in that country. A **city** is generally defined as a political unit, a place organized and governed by an administrative body. The UN has standardized its data to recognize settlements of over 20,000 as "urban," those of more than 100,000 as "cities," and settlements of more than 5 million as "metropolises." (By contrast, the US Census defines an urbanized area as a settlement including a central city and surrounding areas with a combined population of more than 50,000 people.) In reality, however, population settlements often spill beyond city boundaries, especially as more and more people are moving to urban areas. For example, to what extent should the populations of spatially separate suburbs be included as part of an urban place? Moreover, standardized tabulations are often replaced with each country's own estimates when international comparative statistics are compiled, such as those regularly assembled by the World Bank (Drakakis-Smith 1987, 2).

The term **urbanization** refers to the transformation from rural/agrarian to urban/industrial and diversified activities. This transformation occurs by rural-to-urban migration and by a high rate of natural increase. Although we see high urban growth rates in less developed countries (LDCs), these do not necessarily reflect "urbanization" because growth rates in the countryside often remain higher than those in the cities. Only when urban growth rates are higher than rural growth rates do we see urbanization occurring. Likewise, it is inaccurate to conceive of urbanization as the result of only simple population movements and growth dynamics. The urbanization process refers to much more than simple population growth; it involves changes in the related economic, social, and political transformations, all of which we shall examine in this module. In more developed countries (MDCs), the average proportion of the population living in urban areas is nearly 75%, whereas it is 37% in LDCs (United Nations 1995).

This relatively small urban percentage in LDCs masks two important facts, especially in relation to a discussion of the changing environmental and social impacts of urban growth. First, it is important to consider variations in LDCs. Many parts of Latin America are as urbanized as Europe; the proportion of the population that is urban is very high in Venezuela (93%) and Argentina (88%), for example (WRI 1996). Moreover, individual cities such as Sao Paulo and Mexico City are already among the largest in the world (see Table 1).

Second, in LDC's the sheer size of urban populations and rates of urban growth are greater than those in more developed regions of the world. The absolute total number of people represented by the 37% figure for the LDCs far exceeds the urban population of the MDCs. Of the world's total urban population, 66% (1.7 billion) live in LDCs, while only 34% (868 million) live in MDCs (United Nations 1995, 25). The larger number of people living in LDC regions affects the rate of growth of urban areas there. For instance, in 1930, Latin America had just over 100 million inhabitants; 60 years later, its population had passed the 425 million mark. To put this into a historic perspective, the urban growth of Europe (including Russia) throughout the whole of the nineteenth century amounted to some 45 million people, a total exceeded by Brazil in just 25 years (1950-1975). As another example, it took London 100 years to expand from 1 million in 1860 to 9 million in 1960. By contrast, Mexico City's population was 1 million just 50 years ago, and is over 15 million today (Hift 1990). Thus, while urbanization in MDCs is high, the impact of growth rates and initial population sizes in LDCs substantially affects environmental, economic, and social aspects of global change.

Table 1: The World's 25 Largest Cities, 1995

Country	Population (millions)
Tokyo, Japan	26.8
Sao Paulo, Brazil	16.4
New York, USA	16.3
Mexico City, Mexico	15.6
Bombay, India	15.1
Shanghai, China	15.1
Los Angeles, USA	12.4
Beijing, China	12.4
Calcutta, India	11.7
Seoul, Republic of Korea	11.6
Jakarta, Indonesia	11.5
Buenos Aires, Argentina	11.0
Tianjin, China	10.7
Osaka, Japan	10.6
Lagos, Nigeria	10.3
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	9.9
Delhi, India	9.9
Karachi, Pakistan	9.9
Cairo, Egypt	9.7
Paris, France	9.5
Metro Manila, Philippines	9.3
Moscow, Russian Federation	9.2
Dhaka, Bangladesh	7.8
Istanbul, Turkey	7.8
Lima, Peru	7.5

Source: United Nations. 1995. *World urbanization prospects: 1994 revisions*. New York, NY: UN, pp. 132-139 and 143-150. Reprinted with the permission of the United Nations Department of Public Information.

City Living: At What Cost, For Whom?

The impacts of global change in urban areas will be different in different regions, and people's ability to adjust to these changing conditions will vary as well. Latin American cities are characterized by an increase in the polarization between rich and poor; a minority of city dwellers reap the benefits of rapidly expanding markets in the global economy, and the majority live on the urban periphery in poverty and environmental degradation. Based on 1980 estimates, 6 million (or 40%) of Mexico City's 15 million inhabitants live in what is generally termed informal settlements, as do about one-third of Sao Paulo's total population (United Nations 1987). These kinds of settlements consist of housing that is built with materials like scrap wood, old tires, and corrugated sheets of tin. Likewise, such areas are often highly polluted owing to the lack of urban services, including running water and trash pickup, and they often lack electricity or paved roads.

What role does this kind of urban poverty serve in a new world order where the production and consumption of goods is split geographically? Is it an inevitable and unfortunate situation that will be remedied as markets expand and city revenues increase? Or does such poverty serve a distinct function for the benefit of global capital? We believe that the latter better characterizes the role of poverty in the new world order. The concentration of investment in cities attracts large numbers of migrants looking for employment, thereby creating a large surplus labor force, which keeps wages low. In other words, when there are more people than jobs, people will work for any income that they can get in order to make a living, thereby allowing employers to pay the bare minimum in wages. This surplus of labor is highly attractive to American or European companies who can produce goods like textiles, cars, computer parts, or CD players for consumers in MDCs for far less than if the goods were produced where wages are higher (see Table 2). Moreover, the government of the "host" country (i.e., the LDC with low wages) also benefits in that attracting foreign companies to the country brings much needed investment and revenues.

Although LDC governments get investments, foreign companies can produce more cheaply, and MDC consumers obtain lower-priced goods and maintain a high standard of living, workers on both sides of the "development divide" suffer from the new trends in global production. Workers in MDCs lose out as job opportunities are shifted to the South in search of less expensive labor; in LDCs, wages are often so low that workers are unable to make a living. In all, the complex relationship described here is one that Angotti (1995, 16) argues serves the interests of transnational corporations (TNCs) while poverty and the large number of people in urban areas help to maintain a ready-made labor reserve.

Table 2: Manufacturing Wages Worldwide, 1987

Country	Avg Wages ($/hr)
Mexico	$0.97
Brazil	$1.10
South Korea	$1.43
Hong Kong	$2.04
Taiwan	$2.12
Japan	$9.92
Sweden	$10.57
United States	$10.82

Source: Kamel, R. 1990. *The global factory: Analysis and action for a new economic era.* Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, p. 10.

We recognize, too, that poverty often seems to be the result of the social position that one occupies in a given place, a position often defined by one's economic class, ethnicity, age, or gender. For example, as a result of living in patriarchal societies in many LDC regions, most women are often denied a formal education or the right to own property (Cutter 1995). These barriers translate into a lack of economic self-security and restrict the ability to adjust to or mitigate the consequences of global economic shifts. Thus, as the number of poor people living in Latin American urban areas rose from 44 million to 115 million between 1970 and 1990, so did the number of women in poverty (WRI 1996). By 1986, one-third of the poorest households in Latin America were headed by women -- a fact that greatly alters the "face" of urban poverty.

Because of the marginal status women occupy in many societies, women are paid on average less than men. As a result, TNCs like to hire women, and men have found it harder and harder to find work in new production markets. We can see that gender is an important aspect of globalization and the new processes of production. On the one hand, women have facilitated globalization, becoming the majority of workers in many factories. On the other hand, as more and more women move to cities in Latin America (women now make up 57% of urban populations in this region) and are hired for slim earnings, they help maintain and even increase income polarization within cities. This further fuels the process of global economic change and, by driving down the wages in MDCs, forges a common bond between the urban poor in MDCs and the urban poor in LDCs.

Such inequalities raise questions about the uneven power relations that often drive global transformations and govern the distribution of the benefits of such changes. This module is expressly concerned with the absence of social justice, or equity, in many forms of global change today, that is, how the process of urbanization in the South favors certain groups while constraining the opportunities of others. We emphasize the *human dimensions* of global change by focusing on the impacts of macroforces on different sub-populations defined by economic status, gender, and/or ethnicity. In this way we highlight some of the social inequalities that arise from the macroforces associated with global change.

Patterns and Processes of Urbanization in Latin America

This module focuses on Latin America because it is considered the "most urbanized area in the less developed regions" of the world (United Nations 1995, 23). In 1970, 57% of Latin America's population lived in urban areas; by 1994, this figure had increased to 74%. Forty-one cities in this region now have populations of more than one million, and the average size of a Latin American city is 3.6 million (Angotti 1995, 14). By 2025, 85% of the population of Latin America is expected to be urban (United Nations 1995, 23).

Urbanization in Latin America has usually involved the biggest city in each country growing larger and faster than the other cities. This phenomenon results in **urban primacy** or the demographic, economic, social, and political dominance of one city over all others within an urban system. For example, the Lima metropolitan area has over 7.5 million inhabitants, one-third of Peru's total population; the second largest city, Arequipa, has fewer than 700,000 inhabitants (Angotti 1995, 14). Cities like Lima that have the majority of a country's population living in them are called **primate cities**.

This form of urbanization was initially encouraged by the political and administrative centralization instituted by the Portuguese and Spanish during the colonial period and was accelerated after independence by the port locations of most of the capital cities. Centralized administration and a port location enabled governments to control the flows of most exports and imports and led to a single urban "gateway" for products being shipped into and out of the country. Because of this process, Latin America today contains some of the world's largest metropolitan areas. As Table 1 illustrates, in 1995 five of the world's 25 largest "megacities" were in Latin America.

Urban primacy has not been the only form of urbanization occurring in Latin America in recent years. Smaller, "intermediary cities" have increased in size largely because of new levels of globalization and the increasingly specialized functions that cities are performing. Latin America now has 41 cities with more than one million inhabitants (14 in Brazil alone) and 11 cities with greater than three million inhabitants. This growth of intermediary cities of over 10,000 inhabitants or the "broadening of the urban hierarchy" (Roberts 1989, 8) has the effect of dampening the number of megacities projected for Latin America (see Table 3). Nonetheless, it is important to note that the smaller cities have not gained greater political power or improved government services despite their growth. These cities still tend to lack the economic diversity, urban services, and the cultural life that primate cities offer.

Table 3: Projected 15 Largest Cities in the World, 2015

Rank	Urban Agglomeration	Population (in Millions)
1	Tokyo, Japan	28.7
2	Bombay, India	27.4
3	Lagos, Nigeria	24.4
4	Shanghai, China	23.4
5	Jakarta, Indonesia	21.2
6	Sao Paulo, Brazil	20.8
7	Karachi, Pakistan	20.6
8	Beijing, China	19.4
9	Dhaka, Bangladesh	19
10	Mexico City, Mexico	18.8
11	New York, USA	17.6
12	Calcutta, India	17.6
13	Delhi, India	17.6
14	Tianjin, China	14.7
15	Metro Manila, Philippines	14.7

Source: United Nations. 1995. *World urbanization prospects*. New York: United Nations Publication, p. 3.

Conclusion

A focus on cities encourages us to think about processes of global change beyond those associated with the biophysical environment. It helps direct our attention to the political and economic structures of power that drive processes of change and shape their effects. In addition, it highlights the lives of under-served and disadvantaged populations, who shoulder a disproportionate share of environmental damage and clean-up, both in the countryside and in the cities.

The centrality of issues surrounding urbanization and city life within the global change agenda raises a number of questions. What forces are causing urban populations, especially in LDCs, to increase at such rates? Why are these forces important to include in our discussion of global change? What effects does this growth have on the structure of cities and the lives of their inhabitants?

To answer these questions, we need to examine the forces behind the changing environments of urban areas to provide a way of understanding larger processes of global change. To understand rapid urban growth rates and the emergence of megacities in LDCs, we need to look at how these cities and LDC economies are linked to broader political-economic systems of international trade, finance, and production -- the internationalized capitalist system of the late twentieth century. This approach will allow us to see how the serious issues faced by LDCs such as poverty, unemployment, the debt crisis, and environmental challenges are linked directly to the explosion of urban growth.

1

Urbanization and Global Change

Instructor's Guide to Activities

Goal

The goals of the activities in Unit 1 are (1) to introduce students to the rapid growth of urbanization in a global context, (2) to strengthen students' understandings of the patterns and processes of urbanization, and (3) to help students begin to think about the Latin American city and urban context in particular.

Learning Outcomes

After completing the activities associated with this unit, students should:

- have an understanding of recent global trends in urbanization and the growth of megacities in less developed countries;
- be able to analyze maps and data in a critical manner;
- understand some of the environmental and social problems accompanying rapid urbanization in Latin America;
- have a heightened awareness of the concept of scale and of the linkages among geographic scales;
- have developed a basic familiarity with a least one particular Latin American city; and
- be able to do library research and use the Internet/WWW as a research tool.

Choice of Activities

It is neither necessary nor feasible in most cases to complete all activities in each unit. Select those that are most appropriate for your classroom setting and that cover a range of activity types, skills, genres of reading materials, writing assignments, and other activity outcomes. This unit contains the following activities:

1.1 Past, Present, and Future Urban Agglomerations	-- Data analysis and basic map creation and interpretation
1.2 What Does Sprawl Look Like?	-- Map interpretation and class discussion
1.3 A Study of Air Pollution in Mexico City	-- Critical reading of journal articles and class discussion
1.4 Visualizing Urban Landscapes: First Impressions of a City	-- Team work, library and Internet research, and poster presentation

Suggested Readings

The following readings accompany the activities for this unit. Choose those readings most appropriate for the activities you select and those most adequate for the skill level of your students.

- Unit 1: Urbanization and Global Change (provided)
  The background information for Unit 1 that all students should read.
- Collins, Charles O. and Steven L. Scott. 1993. Air pollution in the valley of Mexico. *The Geographical Review* 83, 2 (April): 119-133.
- United Nations Environmental Programme and the World Health Organization. 1992. *Urban air pollution in megacities of the world.* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, chapter 2 (p 7-13) and chapter 8 (155-164).
  These two articles provide background information on the problem of air pollution especially in Mexico City. The Collins and Scott article is fairly easy to read. Chapters 2 and 8 from the UNEP/ WHO book are more technical but can be used as supplemental reading.
- Gilbert, Alan. 1994. Viva the city. *Geographical* (June): 17-20.
- Bartone, Carl. 1991. Environmental challenge in the Third World. *Journal of the American Planning Association* (Autumn): 411-415.
  The above two articles accompany Activity 1.3 and provide the students with a basic understanding of urban environmental issues and global environmental change.
- Vujakovic, Peter. 1995. Making posters. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 19, 2 (July): 251-256.
  This article accompanies Activity 1.4 and provides information on creating powerful and informative poster presentations.
- World Resources Institute. 1996. *World resources 1996-97: A guide to the global environment. The urban environment.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-149.
  A biennial publication of the World Resources Institute. This edition focuses on the urban environment. Selections from chapters 1 thru 6 can be used to provide additional background information.

Activity 1.1 Past, Present, and Future Urban Agglomerations

Goals

Students become familiar with data about urban areas and see how patterns of world urbanization have changed and shifted regionally over time. Students consider the reasons for the rapid and concentrated urbanization in the South and its implications for people around the world.

Skills

- ✓ assessing and interpreting data
- ✓ displaying statistical information on maps
- ✓ map visualization (global scale)

- ✔ analyzing spatial and temporal trends
- ✔ group discussion

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 1.1* (provided)
- *Supporting Material 1.1a* and *1.1b* (for use as handouts; provided)
- *Supporting Material 1.1c* (For use as overhead transparency to guide class discussion; provided)

Time Requirements

one class period (50 minutes)

Tasks

This activity is a good introduction to the entire module and sets the stage for the topics that will be covered in subsequent units and activities. Divide the class into groups of three or four students and provide them with data in *Supporting Material 1.1a* (either as a handout or on an overhead transparency) and several blank copies of the world map provided in *Supporting Material 1.1b*. Choose several different decades from the data provided and ask students to identify the location of the 15 largest urban agglomerations for each of the selected decades on the world map. Be sure to select decades that will allow students to see the trends over time. You can also ask different groups to compare different decades. This part of the activity helps students visualize the spatial patterns of the data at a global scale. Students may need to consult a world atlas to locate the urban agglomerations correctly. Allow 20- 30 minutes for this part of the activity.

Next, allow students about 10 minutes to discuss with their groups the questions on the student worksheet (also listed here). Use the last 10-15 minutes of the class to initiate a class discussion of their maps and their responses to the questions.

1. What trends stand out? How have the *numbers* and the *regional distribution* of megacities changed over the years?
2. How might we explain these changing regional patterns and these phenomenal rates of growth?
3. What implications might this kind of growth have both for people living in the megacities and for people here in the US? Why should we care about the explosion of megacities?

Use the table "Number of Megacities in Selected Years" (*Supporting Material 1.1c)* and the suggestions in the *Answers to Activities* in Unit 1 to guide the discussion of these questions.

Activity 1.2 What Does Sprawl Look Like?

Goals

Students use maps of cities in North America and Latin America to recognize urban "sprawl" and to look for similarities and differences between large metropolitan areas.

Skills

✔ comparative map reading and comprehension
✔ qualitative assessment of quantitative data
✔ group work and discussion

Material Requirements

- *Supporting Material 1.2a* and *1.2b* (provided)
- Land-use maps of various Latin American megacities
- Land-use maps of a few large American cities
- Maps of various urban areas from *Goode's World Atlas*
- *State of the World Atlas* (Seager 1990)
- Topographic maps of the cities chosen above (optional)
- *The New State of the World Atlas* (Kidron and Segal 1984) (optional)

Time Requirements

one class period (50 minutes)

Suggested Map Sources

- *Atlas of California*. 1979. Michael W. Donley, Stuart Llan, Patricia Caro, Clyde P. Patton. Culver City, CA: Pacific Book Center.
  Excellent thematic maps showing income levels, segregation based on race, location of industry, and residences, etc.
- *Atlas del Ecuador, Geografia and Economia.* 1990. Nelson Gomez E., Coleccion Imagenes de la Tierra. Quito: Ediguias C. LTDA.
  Good sectoral maps of Quito and Guayaquil (pages 68-69).
- *Atlas de la Ciudad de Mexico*. 1987. Colegio de Mexico. Centro de Estudios Demograficos y de Desarrollo Urbano. Mexico City: Colegio de Mexico.
- *Atlas de la Republica de Chile.* 1983. Instituto Geografico Militar (Chile). Santiago de Chile: Instituto Geografico Militar.
- *Goode's World Atlas*. 17th Edition. 1986. Edward B. Espenshade, Jr. (ed). Joel L. Morrison (senior Consultant). Rand McNally and Co.

Tasks

This activity requires access to city maps of various Latin American large urban areas, which may be available in your university (map) library or through interlibrary loan. You can either provide the maps or let students find them. (If your class is fairly large, think about whether the map librarians can accommodate large numbers of students descending on them!) Choose large, colorful maps that indicate the location of the central business district, residential areas, and industrial sector (at the very least). Thematic maps that depict social conditions, income levels, or other factors could also be helpful. Finally, if you are able to find two or three maps from different time periods of the same city, students can examine the extent to which the city has grown and how the patterns of residential and industrial use have shifted. Because many of the maps you find will be in Spanish, a glossary of common location terms in Spanish is provided in *Supporting Material 1.2a.* Make copies of the glossary and give it to students as a handout or display it on an overhead transparency.

Divide the class into groups corresponding to the number of maps you have located. Ask them to examine the maps and to consider the following questions (also listed on *Student Worksheet 1.2*):

- Where is the central business district located?
- Where does industrial activity seem to take place?
- Where are the parks, plazas, etc?
- Where are residential areas located?
- Can you find a historical district?
- What do you notice about its physical site, or location?
- Make note of other things you notice or find interesting.

If you are able to find topographical maps of certain cities, ask students how topography affected the city's general expansion or the patterns of land use that are visible.

If you have access to the *State of the World Atlas* (Seager 1990), ask one group to focus specifically on this source. Ask them turn to page 40 and notice where "city sprawl" is found across the globe. Then tell them their task is to look through the rest of the book and find maps that show the environmental problems generally associated with city sprawl (pages 48-49 on air quality and 62-63 on acid rain are of particular note, and students can probably make a good case for others). The *New State of the World Atlas* (Kidron and Segal 1984) could also be used (map #46 depicts "urban blight" and maps its effect on safe drinking water and sanitation services).

After students have had 25-30 minutes to review the maps, bring the class back together and spend a few minutes asking each group to share some of the things they came up with while looking at their maps. You could also open the discussion and let students volunteer information. In either case, make a list of their observations on the chalkboard so that the similarities and differences become apparent. Once the list has been created, ask students the following questions to conclude the discussion:

1. How are the cities similar?
2. How are they different?
3. Given the general observations you've made, what problems can we anticipate?

Additional information on the landscapes of megacities in the South is provided in *Supporting Material 1.2b*. You can use this information to help you lead the discussion, or you can share it with students as a handout as they review the maps.

Activity 1.3 A Study of Air Pollution in Mexico City

Goals

Students examine air pollution in Mexico City to understand the complexities of global change. In addition, students become comfortable with the terminology of "global-to-local" scales and are exposed to the different ways that this relationship can operate.

Skills

- ✓ reading comprehension
- ✓ application of abstract ideas to concrete examples of human-environment interaction
- ✓ understanding the impacts and interactions of different geographic scales
- ✓ synthesis of physical and human geographic dimensions

Material Requirements

- Suggested readings: Gilbert (1994); Bartone (1991); Collins and Scott (1993); and UNEP (1992)
- Chalk board or overhead transparency projector

Time Requirements

30 minutes in class

Task

Students unfamiliar with geography may initially have difficulty understanding the distinction between global, regional, and local scales and the importance of scale to geographic inquiry. They might also have a hard time understanding the way that geographers conceptualize forces that operate at different scales and how processes at different scales affect one another.

This activity focuses on human impact on the environment with an emphasis on the global and regional scales. The example of localized air pollution allows an examination of the complexities of global change. Biology, chemistry, industry, transportation, economics, population, geomorphology, climatology, land-use planning, politics, and policy all feature prominently in this example.

After students have read the suggested readings (Gilbert 1994; Bartone 1991; Collins and Scott 1993; and UNEP 1992), ask them to make a list of as many causes and effects of air pollution in Mexico City as they can. Encourage them to include all the factors that contribute to the situation.

Begin the in-class portion of this activity by discussing the importance of scale. For example, you can point out that an understanding of current and possible future environmental problems is critical to the planet's sustainability. Therefore understanding how human actions, no matter how small, affect the natural environment is the first step. This is where the importance of *scale* comes into play. For the purposes of this activity, we suggest a scale continuum along the following lines: individual, community, metropolitan area, nation, international, globe. In addition, you may also wish to discuss the commonly used framework of local scale and global scale. Defining these terms can stimulate a discussion in and of itself -- i.e., is "local" a community? a household? Can we "fix" a definition to scale? What other levels of scale may lie between individual and global?.

Divide the class into groups of two or three students and ask them to sort the causes and effects of air pollution in Mexico City by scale, using the proposed individual-global framework (or another framework of your choosing). Let them know that they might not have responses for each level.

After five to ten minutes, ask the students to share their responses with the class and to explain why they chose the things that they did. List their responses on the chalkboard or on an overhead transparency. (See *Answers to Activities* for an example.) Note that the causes and effects are often related in a reciprocal or cyclical fashion (i.e., an effect can also be a cause for a secondary effect, and so on).

Once you have the list, encourage students to think of the ways that *scale* can be helpful in understanding the human dimensions of global change. Use the following questions to help guide the discussion:

- How are people's daily lives affected by air pollution?
- How do individuals help to perpetuate and to control the causes of air pollution?
- How are local or national businesses and industries affected by air pollution? How do they contribute to the production of air pollution?
- What is the role of international or multinational companies in the production of and responses to air pollution?
- What global or international situations or activities affect the tendency of less-developed countries to have fewer, weaker, and less strongly enforced environmental laws?
- What are some of the responses made at the metropolitan (local) level by both city and national governments to control air pollution in Mexico City? (The article mentions some of them, including driving bans, industrial relocations, expansion of public transportation, revised auto emissions guidelines, factory closures, and use of alternative fuels.)
- The authors suggest that the region's geographical features have not been fully considered in Mexico City's development. What do they mean by this? How may this be changing?

The *State of the World Atlas* (Seager 1990) can provide some helpful visual aids for this discussion. In particular, the following pages contain material directly relevant to this discussion:

pp. 60-61 - "Fossil Fuel Pollution"
pp. 76-77 - "Auto Culture"
pp. 50-51 - "Energy Budgets"
pp. 70-71 - "Holes in the Sky/CFC Consumption"

Activity 1.4 Visualizing Urban Landscapes: First Impressions of a City

Goals

Students make connections between the general processes of urbanization and their effects on the historical, social, economic, and cultural configuration of a particular place.

Skills

- ✔ presenting information graphically
- ✔ writing concise explanatory text
- ✔ designing a presentation for a wide audience
- ✔ group work
- ✔ library/ Internet research

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 1.4* (provided)
- Suggested reading: Vujakovic (1995)
- Other materials will vary according to group

Time Requirements

7-10 days outside of class; allow additional time for occasional in-class group meetings.

Tasks

In this activity, students begin to build an understanding of one Latin American city focusing specifically on images of the urban landscape. Instead of writing a traditional research paper on this topic, students present the results of their research in a poster format.

Begin by allowing students to select the city they would like to research. Post a list of several cities (make sure they are prominent enough to have sufficient information on them in the library) and let students sign up for the city and group of their choice. On the day that groups are chosen, provide a copy of the suggested reading on making posters (Vujakovic 1995) and suggest that students read it before they meet with their group. Encourage them to consider Vujakovic's thorough and insightful suggestions. Lastly, suggest that students assign tasks within their group based on their own skills and interests in order to complete their poster by the due date.

In their posters, students should include items that show the geographic location and land use patterns of the city. They should also find ways to illustrate how the process of urbanization has affected the absolute size, population density, and living conditions of the city. Their posters should convey an image of what it is like to visit, live, and/or work in the city. Give students an idea of how the posters will be graded (i.e., requiring maps, tables/graphs, clear and explanatory writing, visual appeal, etc.).

The following criteria are provided in the student worksheet and should be used to evaluate students' work:[2]

The poster must:
- have a title
- have a list of authors (students)
- include a map(s)
- have a clear theme that is obvious from the title
- make an impact
- be readable from a distance of one meter, have large print

The poster should have:
- a consistent color theme
- a contrast between background color and mounting color
- signals to lead you from one element to the next
- a consistent typeface and style

The poster might include:
- photos, graphs, or other figures

Students should use a variety of sources for their information including the library (books, magazines, newspapers), Internet resources, and/or meetings with "experts" (e.g., a professor at the university that specializes in the country or city), among others. You might suggest the following sites on the World Wide Web if students are planning an Internet search:

http://192.246.43.10/www.hispano/explore.html
http://www.clarku.net/pub/igbustam/paises/paiseo.html
http://www.clarku.net/pub/igbustam/heritage/heritage.html

Remind students that size/space considerations limit the amount of information that can be displayed on a poster. The information they find doesn't need to be extensive, but should be concise enough for the audience to get a sense of what is happening in this city.

The groups will probably require some meeting time during class in order to keep everyone on track. From the start, however, let them know this project will require outside-class meeting time. Depending upon class size and time constraints, you can ask students to bring drafts of their posters to class and invite students to move from poster to poster giving constructive criticism to their classmates. Students can display final posters in the classroom or in an end-of-semester departmental poster session/party.

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[2] Adapted from Kneale, P. 1996. Organizing student-centered group fieldwork and presentations. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 20, 1 (1 March): 65-74 .

This activity is suggested early in this module because it provides students with a particular context (i.e., a particular city) within which to place the concepts and issues that will be addressed later in the module. Activity 3.4 of this module contains a similar activity. If time allows, you can compare the posters from both activities, one representing an initial and surface-level impression of the cities and the other capturing a more in-depth understanding of the underlying processes, life stories, and local-global linkages of the urban experience in a particular city. Or, rather than assign both activities separately, you can combine Activity 1.4 and Activity 3.4 in a long-term project culminating in a poster symposium (as suggested in Activity 3.4).

1 Urbanization and Global Change

Student Worksheet 1.1

Activity 1.1 Past, Present, and Future Urban Agglomerations

Presently, 45% of the world's population are city dwellers; they are distributed in cities of vastly different sizes. The growth of major metropolitan areas has been astounding in this century. In 1992, more than 285 metropolitan areas had populations of over one million people, whereas at the beginning of the century only 13 cities were that large. Several cities, including Beijing, Bombay, Mexico City, and Rio de Janeiro, have over ten million people; in 1900 there were no cities of this size (Getis, Getis, and Fellman 1994, 402). While the amount of urban growth varies from continent to continent and from country to country, in all countries the proportion of the population living in cities is rising.

The tables provided by your instructor illustrate this growth of large urban agglomerations or megacities. According to the UN, a place is considered a megacity if it has a minimum of 9.8 million inhabitants. Using the tables and the copies of the world map provided by your instructor, locate on the map the 15 largest urban agglomerations during the decades specified by your instructor. Using the tables and the maps that you created, take a few minutes to consider the following questions with your group:

1. What trends stand out? How have the *numbers* and the *regional distribution* of megacities changed over the years?

2. How might we explain these changing regional patterns and these phenomenal rates of growth?

3. What implications might this kind of growth have both for people living in the megacities and for people here in the US? Why should we care about the explosion of megacities?

Student Worksheet 1.2

Activity 1.2 What Does Sprawl Look Like?

In this activity, you will use maps of various cities in North America and Latin America to examine urban sprawl and to compare the urban patterns of the two areas. Your instructor will provide you with the necessary maps or (s)he will tell you where and how you can locate them.

Together with a small group of your classmates, you will examine the maps and answer the questions below. Use a separate sheet of paper for your responses and other notes.

- Where is the central business district located?
- Where does industrial activity seem to take place?
- Where are the parks, plazas, etc?
- Where are residential areas located?
- Can you find a historical district?
- What do you notice about its physical site, or location?
- Make note of other things you notice or find interesting.

After you've answered these questions, your instructor will conclude this activity with a brief discussion about your observations.

Student Worksheet 1.4

Activity 1.4 Visualizing Urban Landscapes: First Impressions of a City

In this activity, you will build an understanding of one Latin American city by focusing specifically on images of the urban landscape. Instead of writing a traditional research paper on this topic, you will present the results of your research in a poster format.

Your instructor will allow you to select the city you'd like to investigate and the group of students you'd like to work with. In your group, assign tasks to every member based on their skills and interests in order to complete the poster by the due date.

As the title of this activity suggests, your goal is to provide a general impression of your city and to convey this in a poster. In your posters, you should include items that show the geographic location and land use patterns of the city. You should also include information or graphics that illustrate how the process of urbanization has affected the size, population density, and living conditions of the city. Your posters should convey an image of what it is like to visit, live, and/or work in the city.

Your poster will be evaluated according to the following criteria:[3]

The poster must:
- have a title
- have a list of authors (students)
- include map(s)
- have a clear theme that is obvious from the title
- make an impact
- be readable from a distance of one meter, have large print

The poster should have:
- a consistent color theme
- a contrast between background color and mounting color
- signals to lead you from one element to the next
- a consistent typeface and style

The poster might include:
- photos, graphs, or other figures

Use a variety of sources for your information including the library (books, magazines, newspapers), Internet resources, meetings with "experts" (e.g., a professor at the university that specializes in the country or city), etc. You might consider the following sites on the World Wide Web if one or more of your group members is planning an Internet search:

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[3] Adapted from Kneale, P. 1996. Organizing student-centered group fieldwork and presentations. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 20, 1 (1 March): 65-74 .

http://192.246.43.10/www.hispano/explore.html
http://www.clarku.net/pub/igbustam/paises/paiseo.html
http://www.clarku.net/pub/igbustam/heritage/heritage.html

Remember that size/space considerations limit the amount of information you can display on your poster. The information you find doesn't need to be extensive, but should be concise enough for the audience to get a sense of what is happening in this city.

Your instructor will provide some meeting time during class so that you can keep in touch with members of your group and keep each other on track. However, this project will require outside-class meeting time. Your instructor will provide more information about the due date and the format for presenting your poster to the rest of the class.

1 Urbanization and Global Change

Answers to Activities

Activity 1.1 Past, Present, and Future Urban Agglomerations

The emphasis here is on getting students to use the data and maps as a springboard for considering the reasons behind the growth and shift in urbanization and to discuss some of the implications. Student responses to the questions on the worksheet will probably be fairly simple at this point in the module, but the purpose of the activity is to *raise questions* rather than answer them, thus allowing students to take part in setting the agenda for this module.

Use the responses below as a guide for the class discussion.

1. The students should note several trends: (1) there has been a shift from mostly MDC cities represented in earlier decades to a predominance of LDCs by the late twentieth century (and even more so by 2015!). For example, the data show that in 1950, 11 of the 15 cities were in MDCs, whereas by 2015, 13 of the 15 will be in LDCs; (2) the threshold for characterizing megacities has increased over the years. According to the UN, in 1950, the minimum population size for the 15 largest urban agglomerations was 3.3 million, but a population of 9.8 million was required as a threshold in 1994. For instance, in 1994, Los Angeles, with a population of 12.2 million was listed as the seventh largest city, whereas 12.3 million in 1950 (New York) was enough to qualify for top position.

2. Students will likely answer that population growth is the reason behind the growth of cities, but in-migration should be mentioned as well. Encourage students to think a little more deeply about their answers; for instance: Why migration into cities? What propels migrants from rural areas? What do cities offer? What factors might sustain high natural growth rates in the cities?

3. Students will likely respond that overcrowding, pollution, and fewer resources for more people are the implications of growth. They might have a harder time thinking of the implications of the shift toward urban agglomeration in the South for residents of MDCs. Responses such as "moral or ethical concerns over growing poverty" might arise, or the fact that such large cities provide US corporations with a reserve of labor and larger urban markets for US goods. Finally, they might say that if there is overcrowding and poverty in

Activity 1.3 A Study of Air Pollution in Mexico City

Because this activity is primarily a class discussion, there are no specific answers. The figure below is an example of a table you can create on the chalkboard or an overhead transparency using student responses to the activity. Note that the causes and effects are often related in a reciprocal or cyclical fashion (i.e., an effect can also be a cause for a secondary effect, and so on), and that it may be difficult to associate some activities with only one scale.

Scale	Causes of Air Pollution	Effects of Air Pollution
Globe	• climate, prevailing wind direction, weather patterns	• human health effects • ecosystem disruption
International	• increases in population • transboundary pollution emissions • variations in environmental regulations	• migration (e.g., to the US) • conflict among countries • acid rain • human health effects
Nation	• increase in population • increase in automobile use • fuel combustion in factories, refineries, and power plants • weak or poorly enforced environmental laws	• acid rain • increase in respiratory diseases like cancer or lung infections • restrictions on activities • economic impacts of the above
Metropolitan area	• valley location • temperature inversions • increase in population • lack of public transportation • weak or poorly enforced environmental laws • lack of incentives to reduce or prevent pollution • inadequate transportation infrastructure	• poor air quality • reduced visibility • restrictions on activities • human health effects • acid rain
Community	• weak or poorly enforced environmental laws • lack of public transportation • fuel combustion in local industry	• poor air quality (smog) • reduced visibility • restrictions on activities • human health effects
Individual	• wasteful daily habits • use of inefficient tools, appliances, automobiles • personal values and decisions	• decrease in use and enjoyment of local environment • poor air quality • difficulty breathing and other personal health effects

Activity 1.4 Visualizing Urban Landscapes: First Impressions of a City

The posters for this activity will vary depending on the city chosen, the amount of time allotted for research and creation, and student enthusiasm. In group projects of this kind, it is possible that several students will complete a disproportionate share of the work for the entire group. One way to account for these inequities is to assess students' participation by asking each group member to evaluate his or her own contribution to the project as well as the contribution of each of the other team members. Let students know that the evaluations will be confidential and that their final grade will be based upon their own evaluation, those of other students, and the your assessment of the final product.

For additional information on evaluating this type of on-going group work, see *Notes on Active Pedagogy* or the source below:

Kneale, Pauline. 1996. Organizing student-centered group fieldwork and presentations. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 20, 1 (March): 65-74.

2 The Role of Migration in Urbanization

Background Information

Migration: The Neglected Factor in Urban Growth

The rapid growth of urban areas in Latin America is the result of two factors: national population growth and rural-to-urban migration. According to the United Nations Center for Human Settlements (United Nations 1987), migration accounts for approximately 40% of city growth in Latin America, and the natural rate of increase accounts for about 60%. Since the 1940s, most countries in the region have experienced a population explosion, in part because of modern medicine and the resulting decrease in death rates; the large surplus of births over deaths has resulted in a large natural increase. Although the birth rate has recently begun to decline as well, it is still high when compared to more developed regions of the world.

While natural population growth is important, this unit focuses specifically on rural-to-urban migration. The causes of migration, such as the widespread displacement of peasant farmers by commercial agriculture or by government policies that favor commercial production, are closely tied to economic globalization. Furthermore, migration plays a large and often neglected role in explaining urban expansion.

Migration is defined as the long-term relocation of an individual, household, or group to a new location outside the community of origin. "Long-term," in this context, accounts for the reality that many migrants after having moved, may move again to a new place, whereas others may be unable to adjust or establish themselves in their newly chosen place and return to their place of origin. Migration is most often explained in terms of either **push factors** -- conditions in a given place that migrants perceive as detrimental to their well-being or economic security that induce people to leave their homes, and **pull factors** -- the perceived circumstances in new locales that attract people to move there. General examples of push factors include environmental degradation, the loss of a job, or political persecution. Examples of pull factors include job opportunities, friends and family, or a pleasant climate. In many ways, however, these factors work together. For example, a farmer in rural Brazil whose land is suffering from drought and is increasingly unproductive, would not be "pushed" off his land and decide to move to Sao Paulo unless he was also aware of the presence of opportunities to improve his economic situation there. In the context of urban growth, people often emphasize pull factors in that the city is seen as a magnet or a place where people believe there are better opportunities, higher incomes, and better lifestyles.

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These perceptions of a better life in the city hold true in a general sense. In 1986, the UN calculated that 36% of urban and 60% of rural Latin Americans live in poverty (Gilbert 1994, 41). This comparison was based on measures such as infant mortality rates, the incidence of malnutrition, and the availability of education and social services. Indeed, the city does offer relatively better opportunities than the countryside: wages are usually slightly higher, work is available for longer periods (as opposed to seasonal agricultural work in the countryside), there are better services and large urban markets in which to sell goods, and there is the potential to tap into, if illegally, electricity and water services. In comparison to rural living conditions, these urban advantages attract poor people from rural areas.

Push and pull factors encompass a combination of individual decision-making processes and macro structural forces. Although individual migrants at some point make a decision to move, larger forces often influence that decision. Despite the importance of these larger forces, much of the research on migration has focused almost exclusively on the individual. Models that attempt to explain the reasons for migration based on differences in rural and urban incomes fail to grasp the complexity of the decision to move. At their simplest, these explanations reduce migration to a straightforward, rational, individual choice between a traditional, backward, rural way of life and a modern, industrialized lifestyle in the city (Drakakis-Smith 1987).

This treatment does two things. First, it oversimplifies the distinction between rural and urban areas. Because of improved transportation and other developments, urban values and goods have long penetrated the remotest rural areas. In addition, rural values have moved into the city with migrants and are retained when people of similar backgrounds cluster together (Drakakis-Smith 1987, 33). In other words, the distinction between the "rural" and the "urban" is frequently not as sharp as much of the literature might lead us to think. Second, a model based on a clear-cut distinction between urban and rural settlements often implies that the rural is inherently "backwards," lacking in "modern" qualities. This image obscures the forces that produced the apparent stagnation and decline in the countryside, ignoring historical forces, government intervention, and global processes that have interfered with what was, until recently, a productive lifestyle in the countryside for thousands of peasants.

It is important to note that migrants themselves, when asked why they moved to the city, will frequently cite economic reasons, highlighting the job opportunities they anticipated there (Drakakis-Smith 1987). Migrants explain their move in terms of their immediate situation, neglecting the broader structural changes that have shaped rural and urban economics. We focus here on the ways in which structural processes like rural restructuring encourage migration.

When macro-forces have been considered in the migration question, they have often been framed in terms of the "progress" and "development" that supposedly occur with urbanization. In one common explanatory model, GNP per capita is linked to the urban proportion of total population, suggesting that the more urbanized a given area, the more economically developed it will be. Thus, economic development and urbanization are often interpreted as being causally linked. As Drakakis-Smith (1987, 8) points out, however, "GNP per capita is an indicator of economic growth rather than development (growth with equity), and urban population levels do not reflect the complexity of the urban process." Furthermore, this approach fails to consider that most migrants will never attain an average urban income (an average that is inflated by the small number of very wealthy people) or have access to many urban amenities. Instead, most migrants survive literally and figuratively on the fringes of the urban settlement, living in shanty towns and working in an informal economy.

These criticisms of the ways in which the migration question has traditionally been approached provide the framework for Units 2 and 3. In the remainder of this unit, we will link the micro- and macro-scale analyses by considering the structural "push" factors that impel people out of the countryside. In the final unit, we will narrow the broad and deterministic focus of a macro-scale approach by highlighting the realities of city living for relatively recent urban migrants.

The rest of Unit 2 is organized into two sections. We suggest that you read just one section at a time. Part I discusses the structural factors that have changed living conditions in the countryside. Part II investigates the individual decision to move and examines the experiences of various groups including peasant farmers, women, and natives.

Part I: The Forces Behind Migration

The End of Rural Society: The "Push" Out of the Countryside

Since the sixteenth century, migration to Latin America has contributed to the development of the region and to its varied ethnic composition. During the Colonial Period and the period of post-independence, the emerging republics actively sought ways of attracting overseas populations to settle the vast expanses of arable land and to develop the fledgling urban industries. Many of these new immigrants, like those from Europe, came voluntarily to look for work; others, like those from West Africa, were brought to the region as part of the slave trade during the 1800s. The flow of immigrants to Latin American countries had stagnated by the early twentieth century, and by the late twentieth century, the region had become one of **emigration** rather than **immigration**. Widespread movements, between various scales and places, now characterize the region.

One of the most significant movements is that from rural areas to cities. This movement is directly linked to changes occurring on the global scale as national governments, with the aid of international institutions, work to restructure the ways in which their economies function. Rural production patterns have been restructured and altered, creating numerous social, economic, and political effects on those who live in the countryside and contributing directly to the rural flight that significantly augments urban populations in Latin American countries.

The Interplay of Structural Forces Operating in Latin America

Structural forces are broad processes, out of the individual's direct control, that present people with opportunities and constraints on their actions. These processes emerge out of the economic, political, and cultural systems in which people live. Structural forces emerge from a combination of many different things: historic events (e.g., the experiences with colonialism), the policies and actions of national governments (e.g., competing agendas of urban-industrial and agrarian development), and contemporary international influences (e.g., the move to free trade or economic globalization in general). The combination of different experiences -- whether they be historical or contemporary -- provides the structural framework in which changes will occur. Because all places have different histories and different political, economic, and cultural orientations, structural forces will necessarily affect individuals and places in different ways; structural forces do not operate in the same manner across all places.

Our focus is primarily on the structural impacts of contemporary forces. In the last decade, daily life in LDCs has been fundamentally changed by the increasing penetration of capitalist relations and shifts in the international division of labor. These changes have greatly compromised small-farmer production in the countryside and the provision of social services in the cities. These events can be traced to the emergence of the debt crisis and the resulting process of **structural adjustment**, a process that includes the transformation of a nation's economic orientation, an increase in its trade linkages, and alterations in government spending. Accordingly, we focus on the debt crisis as one manifestation of political-economic globalization.

"The Lost Decade": Debt and Structural Adjustment

The debt crisis has its roots in the globalization of production and financial systems that took off in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1973 when OPEC (the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) raised the price of oil, the effects reverberated throughout the global system (Canak 1989; Walton and Seddon 1992). Most importantly for Latin America, the upsurge in "petrodollars" (the surplus revenue earned by OPEC with the price hike and then deposited in international banks) led international banks to aggressively seek new sites to invest this surplus revenue through loans that would "recycle" the petrodollars and earn interest revenue for the bank. At the same time, Latin American countries like Mexico, Argentina, Ecuador, and Venezuela were considered a "good risk"because their oil wealth would ensure that the debts would be repaid. It was not "reckless abandon" that led countries to accept loans during these "boom" years. The growth of world trade was expected to continue, and it was logical for these countries -- most with large populations and to some extent, underdeveloped resources -- to import capital in order to finance development. Furthermore, the abundance of money on the world market produced very low interest rates (roughly 4-5%), and it was enticing for developing nations to take advantage of them. These factors were the primary reasons for the accumulation of foreign debt in LDC's.

In 1979 when the second oil price hike hit the global economy, the price of oil rose from $13 to $34 a barrel, and another wave of inflation hit the world economy and led to a world recession. Oil-importing countries, like the United States, were especially hard hit. In response, these countries introduced protectionist policies including a drastic decrease in imports from other countries (including many Latin American countries who depended on trade with the US), a tightening of foreign investment, and domestic layoffs. These policies dramatically affected interest rates on the loans Latin American countries had taken; interest rates soared to 18% and even higher. All of a sudden, most countries in Latin America were struggling just to pay the service (the interest) on their debt let alone the principal (the actual amount of money borrowed initially). By 1983, a rise of 1% in the US interest rate increased the Latin American debt service obligation by $12 billion a year. By 1986, the high cost of debt servicing was evident, as countries were forced to channel an increasing percentage of their GNP and export revenues into paying the service on their debts (see Table 4).

Although the 1979 oil crisis and subsequent interest rate hikes were the precursors of the accumulation of debt, Mexico actually inaugurated the crisis in 1982 by stopping payments on its $80 billion foreign debt to international banks because of the enormous pressures that debt service exerted under these recessionary conditions. Mexico's announcement alarmed the international banking community and was seen by some as potentially heralding a destabilization of the international banking system. In reaction, private bankers drew back from supplying new loans to Latin America, and in their place, international lending institutions, like the **International Monetary Fund** (IMF) and the World Bank, stepped in to resolve the growing crisis. The IMF extended loans to the indebted countries, but these loans came with conditions: the national governments had to agree to impose "structural changes" on their economies to get the economy "back on track" in order to repay their debts and ensure that this kind of crisis would not occur again. These policy packages are referred to as **Structural Adjustment Programs** (SAPs). SAPs entailed a broadly similar set of policies across countries that included:

- wage cutbacks,
- the devaluation of national currencies (to make their exports more attractive abroad),
- a dramatic increase of export-oriented development and in foreign direct investment,
- increased free trade (meaning that tariffs were lowered),
- the contraction of the public (government) sector, and
- a severe reduction in subsidies for rural producers.

Table 4: The Cost of Debt Service, 1970 and 1986

	Total Long-Term Debt Service as Percentage of			
	GNP		Exports of Goods and Services	
	1970	1986	1970	1986
Central America				
Costa Rica	5.7	10.4	19.9	28.9
Cuba	--	--	--	--
Dom. Republic	2.9	6.2	15.2	21.7
El Salvador	3.1	5.5	12.1	20.8
Guatemala	2.6	4.0	8.2	24.3
Haiti	1.0	0.9	7.5	6.0
Honduras	1.4	6.6	5.0	22.0
Mexico	3.7	10.2	44.3	51.5
Nicaragua	3.0	1.2	10.5	12.9
Panama	3.1	9.0	7.7	7.6
South America				
Argentina	5.0	6.8	51.7	64.1
Bolivia	2.5	4.6	12.6	30.4
Brazil	0.9	4.1	12.5	41.8
Chile	3.9	13.1	24.4	37.1
Colombia	2.8	6.5	19.0	31.5
Ecuador	2.2	8.3	14.1	33.9
Paraguay	1.8	6.1	11.7	25.2
Peru	7.1	2.8	40.0	20.5
Uruguay	2.9	6.0	23.6	22.3
Venezuela	1.1	8.6	4.2	37.4

Source: The World Bank. 1989. *1988 World Development Report*. Oxford: Cambridge University Press, Table 18.

As the region of the world most affected by the debt crisis (see Table 5 and Figure 1), Latin America was most greatly affected by the SAPs.

Table 5: Highly Indebted Countries (HICs), 1988

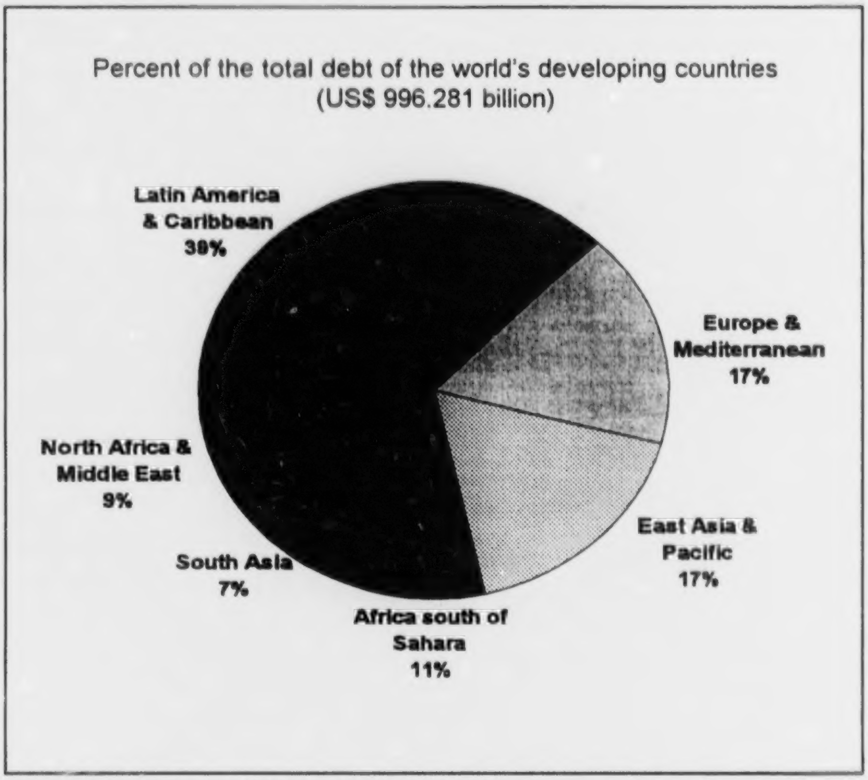
Highly Indebted Countries[b]	**Debt Outstanding, 1988**[a] **(in US$ billions)**
Argentina	59.6
Bolivia	5.7
Brazil	120.1
Chile	20.8
Colombia	17.2
Costa Rica	4.8
Ecuador	110.0
Jamaica	4.5
Mexico	107.4
Peru	19.0
Uruguay	4.5
Venezuela	35.0
Total External Liabilities	409.6

[a] Estimated total external liabilities, including use of the International Monetary Fund credit

[b] 12 of the 17 countries termed HICs by the World Bank are in Latin America. The other 5 countries are Côte d'Ivoire, Morocco, Nigeria, Philippines, and Yugoslavia. Their estimated total external liabilities: US$ 119.9 billions

Source: World Resources Institute. 1996. *World Resources*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, p. 169, Table 7.2. Data reprinted with the permission of World Resources Institute.

Figure 1: Long-Term External Debt, 1987



Source: World Bank. 1988. *World Debt Tables: External Debt of Developing Countries*. Volume I. Analysis and Summary. Cambridge: Oxford University Press. Adapted from *Latin American Today*. 1989 edition. Wellesley, MA.

By some measures, SAPs were successful in that they re-oriented Latin American economies to export-oriented growth, reduced the size of the public sector, and enabled these countries to qualify for new private loans (which continue to this day). Thus, after watching their annual growth rate plummet in the early 1980s, most Latin American countries saw their gross domestic product and per capita gross domestic product (**GDP**) rebound as a result of IMF policies. Perhaps one of the most striking outcomes of SAPs has been the dramatic social adjustment that they have produced. As growth rates began to pick up, urban unemployment and consumer prices increased rapidly. While real GDP climbed steadily, minimum wages plummeted throughout the 1980s. What was behind this apparent discrepancy?

Many authorities on the Latin American debt crisis (Bailey and Cohen, 1987; George 1988) argue that the burden of the debt crisis fell on the middle and lower classes; that is to say economic indicators were able to reflect some "progress" because expenses had been cut in several key social sectors. As a result of these cuts, Latin America became a "landscape of poverty" as SAPs imposed a "regime of sacrifice" on ordinary people (Centeno 1994, 34).

Mexico illustrates this trend clearly. Just as President Miguel de la Madrid's administration (1982-88) privatized formerly state-owned enterprises, aggressively encouraged foreign investment, and reduced barriers to free trade, it also cut vital social services. During the 1980s salaries for the average working Mexican were frozen and approximately 400,000 jobs disappeared even as the labor force expanded by eight million people (Centeno 1994, 202). Yet the national budget for education, housing, and health fell, dropping by 22% in 1983 alone (Centeno 1994, 207). The impact of an economic crisis can often be measured in the food intake and health of the population (Riding 1989, 227). In Mexico's case, by 1989, per capita meat consumption had decreased by 50% from 1980 levels and was even below those for 1975; milk consumption had dropped to one-half of that recommended by the World Health Organization. Likewise, the consumption of corn, beans, and rice declined by 48% between 1982 and 1988 (Goldrich and Carruthers 1992, 101). To compound this problem, while the population became more susceptible to poor health and disease because of malnutrition, the government reduced its health care budget from 2.5% of GDP in 1982 to 1.5% by 1989 (Goldrich and Carruthers 1992, 104). In all, the impacts of the cuts in both the economic and social sectors can be seen in the fact that those classified as "moderately poor" in Mexico increased from 25 million in 1982 to 40 million by 1990.

The IMF approached the debt crisis in a manner that reflected a shift in the world's ideological climate, as the solutions to a wide range of socioeconomic problems in many countries were viewed more and more in financial terms. For example, politicians in the United States, led by Ronald Reagan in the early 1980s, complained that government had gotten too big and interfered too much with the free market. These "free marketeers" argued that environmental regulations, trade tariffs, price supports for agricultural products, and social subsidies like those for cheap food distort the market and cause "inefficiencies" in the production of goods and services. They assumed that the market, left to its own devices, would promote efficient production and the resulting economic growth would "trickle down" and benefit everyone. Because social problems would be addressed through this "trickling down" of resources, government social spending was seen as relatively unnecessary and a drain on the market. Such an approach to economic planning is generally referred to as **free market economics**, or, increasingly, as **neoliberalism**. Ronald Reagan initiated his neoliberal plan of "Reaganomics" in the United States in 1980. Bolstered by the fall of the USSR and the Communist Eastern Bloc countries, and joined by his contemporaries in a number of other countries (most significantly, Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain and Brian Mulroney in Canada), Reagan made neoliberalism a common approach to national economic planning in numerous countries. Thus, the policies that characterized structural adjustment in Latin American countries were also implemented in developed countries as they tried to stay competitive and "efficient" in an increasingly interconnected world.

How then did these macro-economic and ideological shifts affect the way that national governments in Latin America responded to this crisis? What sectors did they specifically target and why? So far, we have answered these questions in only broad terms. How have people and certain regions of countries weathered this crisis? In particular, how have *individuals* and *communities* been affected by these changes? Because our focus is on urbanization in Latin

America and the contribution of migration to that process, we now look at how changes in the rural economy have produced an overwhelming "push factor," radically altering social relationships and cultural world views in the countryside.

Intensification of Commercial Agriculture and Resource Use

In the southern Mexican state of Chiapas, on January 1, 1994, an army of masked indigenous Mayans seized several towns and declared war on the Mexican government. The boldness of the event shocked Mexicans and galvanized attention from around the world, as the group, calling themselves the *Ejercito Zapatista Liberacion Nacional* (The Zapatista National Liberation Army, or the EZLN) initiated a well-organized publicity campaign to expose wrong-doings of the presidential administration of Carlos Salinas de Gortari. One of their key complaints was the way in which the Salinas administration had dismantled Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution. In existence for over 70 years, Article 27 had guaranteed the right of all Mexican peasants to own a piece of communally held land to farm, called the ***ejido***, and to pass their *ejido* plots down to their children. But because the *ejidos* had initially been carved out of poor-quality land, over the years, they required constant government support to maintain productivity and to allow peasant farmers to continue making a living off the land. Such support included, for example, subsidies for farming inputs like seeds and fertilizer and price supports to keep the prices of farm products high, even if they were over-supplied. With the turn toward free-market economics, however, the neoliberal approach viewed government support as "intervention" or "distortion" and argued that farm production should be left to market devices.

Influenced by the turn in the global ideological climate, Salinas had aggressively pursued free-market, or neoliberal, restructuring in Mexico, in all sectors of the economy, including the rural. The elimination of Article 27 was a direct result of this approach, allowing the *ejido* plots, for the first time ever, to be sold to private interests so that they, and not the government, would be responsible for increasing efficiency and productivity. The ability to transfer land titles to private companies holds serious implications for peasant farmers, like those in Chiapas and throughout Mexico. Already impoverished and facing declining farm productivity with no help from the government, many farmers feel they have no choice but to sell their land and move to cities like Mexico City, Guadalajara, or to northern border towns. As an example of this process, an average of 270,000 rural out-migrants have been arriving in Mexico City *annually* over the last ten years (Goldrich and Carruthers 1992, 104).

The issues behind the Zapatista rebellion in Mexico are similar to those that most small agriculturalists faced throughout Latin America as governments turned to higher income-producing activities in order to pay off foreign debt and to be more competitive in an economically interdependent world. For many national governments this has been accomplished by increasing the export of natural resources and agricultural products. Because many LDCs lack a well-developed and diversified economic base, closer integration in the international market is achieved by rapidly depleting some of the only resources they have (Goodman and Redclift 1991, xvi). Agricultural products like sugar, fruit, vegetables, flowers, and primary-sector goods like timber, rubber, fish, and minerals become natural resource "capital" that can be traded to bolster the national economy.

Governments have also encouraged the production of non-traditional agricultural exports (NTAE) such as fresh flowers, processed fruits, and vegetables for MDC markets. The NTAE strategy has become a key part of trade liberalization and structural adjustment policies and is promoted by governments and international aid agencies to help countries overcome economic stagnation and to reduce their dependence on low-priced traditional agricultural products like bananas, coffee, and sugarcane (Thrupp 1994). For example, in response to the economic policies outlined in the World Bank's structural adjustment program, the Costa Rican government has encouraged farmers to switch from traditional crops like beans, rice, and corn produced for domestic consumption to NTAEs such as ornamental plants, flowers, melons, strawberries and red peppers destined for international markets. The World Bank and US Agency for International Development (USAID) have supported this effort by providing about $5 million over the last eight years to promote the production of NTAEs in Costa Rica (Korten 1993, 20).

In order to produce agricultural goods quickly, efficiently, and for a decent price, national governments often look to "weed out" small producers and turn agricultural production and resource extraction over to larger enterprises who can take advantage of economies of scale (the larger the production facility, the lower per-unit cost of production). This **commodification** of agriculture has been a key effect of neoliberal restructuring in the countryside in recent years. Free-market economics pursues "economic efficiency" in order to deliver crops and livestock to processors and industrial buyers at the lowest possible price (Ritchie 1992, 221). The proponents of this approach maintain that any government intervention in the day-to-day activities of business diminishes this efficiency. They seek to scale back or eliminate farm programs such as price supports, land reform, supply management, as well as land-use provisions designed for environmental protection.

Thus, the trend in Latin America has been to turn land into something to be bought and sold, something viewed only in terms of its productive capabilities. In the last decade, "the end of rural society" has been marked by the entrenchment of an agricultural sector more closely linked with industry (**agribusiness**) than with the rural environment. In the search to increase efficiency and revenues, land has become another commodity. As a result, between one-fourth to one-third of most countries' populations are affected and they often have nowhere to turn but the cities.

While most of these changes have occurred in recent years as the result of global economic integration, they can also be seen as an exacerbation of changes that have been occurring for more than four decades (Goodman and Redclift 1991, xv). Since 1950, peasant agriculture and self-sufficiency have been chronically weakened by cheap food policies. Cheap food policies were part of the strategy of Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) undertaken by several Latin American countries between the 1940s and the 1970s. This strategy encouraged a "self-reliant" national attitude such that goods that were once imported from other countries came to be produced *within* a country's borders, with minimal reliance on outside products or manufacturing. Part of the ISI strategy was to keep urban food prices below market levels to reduce the cost of urban labor and urban life. These policies made city life more attractive to workers and "pulled" them in from numerous areas around the country, including rural areas. In turn, this has resulted in a shift in urban consumption patterns and inadequate compensation of rural producers for the costs they incur to produce food products. Structural forces -- like the promotion of cheap food policies -- have consistently aggravated rural poverty. The agrarian structures of Latin America have been more deeply affected by *external* political and economic forces than have those of most other underdeveloped areas (Roberts 1995, 87).

As a result of these types of forces, the last several decades have seen a widespread abandonment of rural areas in Latin America. In 1950, 80-90% of the total populations of countries like Brazil, Ecuador, and Peru lived in rural areas and small towns. By 1980, the rural populations in these same countries had declined by an average of 20%. These maps remind us that the recent intensified pressures on the agricultural systems concurrent with the onset of the debt crisis and the shift to neoliberalism had its roots in the changes that were *already occurring* throughout Latin America prior to the 1980s.

As the Zapatista rebels made clear to the world, the pressures to reduce state intervention under the debt crisis and the move toward free trade have undermined peasant production; these changes have produced vastly more harmful results than anything that had occurred before. With drastically reduced government protection, small farmers who have historically been dependent on the state through cheap credit policies and farm subsidies are left to shoulder the burden of farming with all of its risks. The changes have therefore reinforced existing unequal class relations. Foreign investors, transnational food corporations, and some domestic-owned enterprises have reaped big profits while the land's direct producers have borne the brunt of the costs.

Not only has this growing inability to survive in the countryside affected economic well being, it has also had grave implications for social relations and cultural world views. Above all else, it has produced a rural exodus into regional cities and into more developed countries like the United States. The pursuit of efficiency has exacerbated already low productivity and has consistently made in-roads on the landholdings of small farmers forcing peasants to adapt or move away from the countryside. We examine some of these "coping mechanisms" in the next section and the way that they have disrupted social and cultural relationships.

Part II: Local Experiences -- A Closer Look

The Decision to Move

In her 1992 article entitled "Why Migration?" Saskia Sassen gives us another way to think about rural restructuring and its relationship to migration. Sassen explores the reasons why immigrants choose to move to the United States. She argues that "US policy makers and the general public believe the causes for immigration are evident: poverty, unemployment, economic stagnation, and overpopulation drive people to leave their countries" (1992, 14). She goes on to point out, however, that "these assumptions. . . have led policy-makers to treat immigration as autonomous from other major international processes and as a domestic rather than an international issue." Based on this assumption, they often prescribe the one thing that Sassen argues can initiate a series of detrimental changes: increased foreign investment to alleviate domestic problems. Sassen writes, "US efforts to open its own and other countries' economies to the flow of capital, goods, services, and information created conditions that mobilized people for migration and formed linkages between the US and other countries which subsequently serve as bridges for immigration" (1992, 14).

Foreign investment into export-oriented agriculture and manufacturing in LDCs has displaced small-scale agriculture and manufacturing enterprises. Emigration -- either out of rural areas or the country of origin -- has increased in LDCs at times when the countries were experiencing accelerated economic growth according to conventional measures like annual GNP growth rates (Sassen 1992). Likewise, countries sending out the most emigrants are those in which the US has channeled the most direct investment, like South Korea, the Philippines, and Mexico (Sassen 1992). Contrary to what the free-market approach assumes, economic benefits from macroeconomic growth and foreign investment are not "trickling down" to the majority of the population.

Sassen's argument is important because it helps us to see that migration is a complex issue with decisions made at a number of different scales. We have seen that rural restructuring has resulted from decisions made at the *national scale*, by governments wanting to pay off debts or become more involved in the globalized economy. But we can also see that this kind of restructuring could not have taken place without the help of foreign investment and the decisions of foreign policy makers in other countries, often influenced by ideology of free-market economics operating at the *global scale*. Globalization of the world economy has facilitated foreign direct investment enabling capital, products, and information to flow freely across national borders. In sum, migration in many ways has become part of the structural framework of globalization today, and to think of it in these terms helps us get away from a perception that migration often involves a rational decision made only at the individual level.

Is there any validity to viewing migration in terms of individual decision making? Absolutely. The decision to move -- indeed *any* decision -- is often made within a larger, structural framework. Individuals and households must make decisions based on the constraints and opportunities presented to them. As Sassen (1992, 18) suggests, "the option to migrate is itself the product of larger social, economic, and political processes." Let's look at some ways that rural restructuring under neoliberalism has affected who moves and how it has affected village life, household relations, and cultural beliefs.

Out-Migration: Disrupting the Social and Cultural Landscapes

Peasantization of the Countryside

Roberts (1995, 99) describes the "peasantization" of the countryside in many Latin American countries. This is where peasants, as a result of rural restructuring, have (1) diversified their productive capabilities, producing more than one product or producing products for "niche" markets like organic produce or nontraditional exports like flowers destined for Northern markets; (2) colonized new lands; and (3) used family labor in innovative ways to work the land they have managed to hold onto. These strategies have allowed them to remain in rural areas even while farming for the small producer is becoming increasingly difficult.

But increasing capitalist relations in a number of areas have had detrimental effects on migration patterns. As it becomes harder to farm small, relatively unproductive parcels of land (unproductive both because of the poor land quality and the fact that small producers cannot afford the inputs without government help), peasant farmers realize the benefit of selling off their land to capitalist agro-industrial enterprises who want to consolidate land under the prevailing mentality that "bigger is better." This is a *personal* decision that peasants make, yet one that is obviously influenced by the events happening around them that are out of their control. Having received a small amount of monetary compensation, they often strike out for the cities with the thought that, with recent investment into urban industrial manufacturing sites, there are bound to be more opportunities for them.

Sending Women to Work

Another example of complex decisions made in the global economy are those that occur at the household level. The decline in farm size over the years has meant that the peasantry in most countries are increasingly dependent on non-farm sources of income but are often unable to abandon subsistence farming because of the lack of full-time wage employment opportunities locally (Roberts 1995, 92). A household must then decide who should stay with the family land and who should set out to look for work in nearby towns and cities. In this case, gender becomes an important factor in the new globalized economy and in the decision to migrate. Only recently, in most LDCs, has it become more common to send a woman family member out to look for work because women are finding it increasingly easier than men to find waged work. This is the result of the recruitment of large numbers of young women by export manufacturers, as we discussed in Unit 1, into jobs in new industrial zones in cities and in border towns like Matamoros or Tijuana, Mexico.

Women also migrate more readily in certain places because of distinct gender relations within households, families, and/or patriarchal cultural systems. For example, recent rural restructuring in the Campero and Mizque provinces of Bolivia has radically affected migration patterns out of the countryside (Gisbert, Painter, and Quiton 1994). Local cultural norms require that both men and women bring land to their marriages. Yet under conditions of increasing poverty in the countryside and greater land scarcity, land is increasingly passed down only to sons, reflecting the broader patriarchal cultural system that places greater importance on male offspring. Thus young women, who experience strong pressures to have access to resources in order to be married, often generate a dowry through wage labor migration to the cities. It is particularly women between the ages of 16 and 20 who migrate, and the phenomenon is tied directly to the gendered position of women (within families and the larger culture) in this specific region of Bolivia.

With women leaving the countryside in greater numbers, village economies and household life -- which have traditionally depended on women's often unpaid work in food preparation, cloth weaving, basket making, and various types of craft work -- have been radically altered (Sassen 1992, 17). This "feminization of the proletariat" has resulted in an increase of male unemployment. "Not only must men compete with the new supply of female workers, but the massive departure of young women from rural areas, where women are key partners in the struggle for survival, reduces the opportunity for men to make a living there" (Sassen 1992, 17).

Disrupting Native Lands

A final disruption is the expansion of market capitalism onto native lands. This results in alterations of the landscape that either disrupt cultural practices or encourage abandonment of the land altogether. Across the globe, in both MDCs and LDCs, indigenous communities are confronting the ways in which market economics have infringed upon their autonomy, their control over the resources on their lands, and their ways of life. Natives have protested resource extraction by large multinational corporations (with the compliance of national governments), that alters the natural landscape from which so much of their cultural ways of life stem; they have also protested the ways in which large agro-industrial enterprises disenfranchise natives from their lands.

Let's look at a few cases to illustrate this point. In Brazil's Amazon rainforest, the Kayapo Indians have confronted government officials over the development of a giant hydroelectric dam that, in the drive for modernization, will flood the lands on which they have lived for centuries; they have also confronted loggers, miners, and cattle ranchers who deforest the land and pollute rivers with mercury (Whittemore 1992). In Ecuador, the Cofan Indians battle national and international oil interests that operate in the otherwise pristine rainforest in the eastern corner of the country. The establishment of large drilling platforms, a trans-Ecuadorian pipeline, roads, and villages full of non-natives has greatly comprised one of the most biologically diverse rainforests in the world. In addition, the ways of life of the Cofan are threatened as deforestation and oil spills have become commonplace (Tidwell 1994, 38). In Minnesota, members of the Sokaogon (pronounced so-COG-in) Chippewa tribe face a similar battle as they confront the Exxon corporation and its plans to build an immense copper and zinc mine near their reservation (Schneider 1994, 12).

These infringements by capital reflect the need for (1) LDC governments to exploit any "resource capital" available in order to earn hard currency to alleviate debt servicing; (2) governments in MDCs to form tacit alliances with large corporations in order to discover, exploit, and sell resources in a world of competitive free trade and comparative advantage; and (3) both LDC and MDC governments to pursue modernization and development as defined by orthodox economics. Is it a coincidence that much of the resource exploitation occurs on native lands? Many authors think not (e.g., Seager 1993; Montejo 1993). It is interesting to consider why, when faced with evidence of the deleterious effects of resource extraction on native ways of life, corporations and national governments continue to venture into native lands.

Much of this has to do with the ways that colonial institutions and Western scholarship have tended to privilege the knowledge and lifestyles of those of Caucasian descent as "modern," "civilized," and "progressive" while native people were seen as "backward," "uncivilized," and "primitive," and their knowledge and their choices less legitimate and inferior. To represent native cultures in this manner is to set up a rationalization for intervention into native lives, in order to "correct" the natural "lackings" and to extend the benefits of the modern scientific world. At another level, it has been common for national governments to view vast tracts of land as "empty" or "vacant" and therefore available for resource colonization.

The prevailing attitudes toward native "inferiority" in the contemporary period have helped the neoliberal dismantling of land use provisions designed to protect environmental and social rights and native land claims. Such land use provisions are seen as barriers to efficiency and foreign investment. Dismantling laws that protect land use (such as the *ejido* land reform discussed earlier) is an extremely effective way for national governments to encourage increased foreign investment; they can promise corporations "free reign" over the use of land with no penalties for environmental or social infractions. Hence, the tacit alliance between national governments and multinational corporations has incited many indigenous protests in recent years (Trueheart and McAuliffe 1995).

These kinds of confrontations have helped bring greater awareness of native land use rights and of the ways in which native wisdom and presence have been ignored. For example, Jose Delgado, a rainforest preservationist in the Ecuadorian Ministry of Agriculture, writes about the Cofan's struggle with the oil corporations: "For the first time, thanks largely to the Cofan, oil companies in Ecuador are being forced to admit that the rainforest is not vacant land where they can do anything they want. People live there with rights and aspirations just as valid as any company wanting a profit" (Tidwell 1994, 38).

Indeed indigenous communities are civilized, sophisticated, and delicately balanced societies that depend on their natural environments for subsistence as well as cultural needs (Linden 1991). For example, these communities have developed ways to farm deserts without irrigation, produce abundance from the rainforests without destroying the ecosystem, navigate the Pacific, and explore the medicinal properties of plants (Linden 1991, 46). The encroachment of rural restructuring and resource extraction driven by the changes occurring in the global economic environment, along with increasing cross-cultural interactions, threatens this balance and knowledge. Because many indigenous cultures are closely connected to their environments, whether it be the yearly salmon runs in the Pacific Northwest region of the United States (Knickerbocker 1994, 10) or the caves, volcanoes, and mountains that are so integral to Mayan worldviews (Montejo 1993), to alter these environments is to undermine the very foundation of indigenous civilizations.

Although many native communities have fought against the incorporation of their lands into the global economy, once this kind of disruption occurs, landscapes are often inevitably altered. Surviving off the land becomes more difficult, and even if the community fights for land rights and protection, members often feel forced to move to nearby towns or far-away cities to earn a living. To compound the problem, once exposed to "modernization" in all its forms (settlers, missionaries, government officials, migration), indigenous community members become more aware of the outside world and what it has to offer. "Relatives who have left the villages for the city and return to show off their wealth and status influence the young. Girls encounter educated women who work as clerks and are exempt from the backbreaking hauling done by their mothers' generation. How can these youngsters resist the allure of modern life?" asks Father Frank Mihalic, commenting on what he has seen happen as a Jesuit missionary working in New Guinea since 1948 (Linden 1991, 50). Because of this kind of exposure to the outside world, "young people often embrace the prevailing view that traditional ways are illegitimate and irrelevant" (Linden 1991, 47). By moving off their lands and subsequently devaluing their place-specific indigenous heritage, natives are becoming more and more dispossessed from the traditional ways of knowing that have been so integral to their cultures.

Not only does movement off their lands and out of forests and the countryside radically affect indigenous cultures, their vast reserve of knowledge about plants, animals, and ecosystems is also potentially lost. This process, called a "cultural holocaust" and a "global hemorrhage of indigenous knowledge" (Linden 1991) may have severe consequences for Western scientists, who are only recently beginning to recognize and value native wisdom and its centuries-old, trial-and-error tests of plants, living practices, and agricultural techniques. Moreover, scientists and environmentalists are working to help keep natives on their land by recognizing the structural forces behind out-migration/ rural restructuring and the encroachment of "modernization" that compromises the ability to survive off the land. Many of those concerned, for example, have sought ways to help keep natives on their lands by helping them market forest products like nuts and oils to companies like The Body Shop or Ben and Jerry's Ice Cream. "Foresting" in this sense is still sustainable and allows for a measure of income-generation. But indigenous communities and environmentalists alike still face an uphill battle against the ever approaching loggers, miners, and cattle ranchers, whose own livelihoods demand using the natural landscapes in very different ways.

In sum, we have seen the serious social and cultural "domino effects" of the debt crisis, and the concomitant rural restructuring and resource capital extraction that has taken place with the increasing shift toward neoliberal economics. We have pointed out that while the effects of economic restructuring have been devastating for most Latin Americans in terms of wage decreases, cutbacks in social subsidies, and the rapid orientation toward exports -- all greatly affecting daily survival issues -- such restructuring has also had devastating *social* and *cultural* effects. An examination of these factors provides some insight into how individuals and communities have managed to cope with the larger framework of a rapidly changing world.

Conclusion

We have explored the structural changes of the past two decades that signal the end of rural life and play a large role in the rapid urbanization of Latin America. We have looked at how economic restructuring is rooted in the events of the 1970s and the shifts in political ideology during the 1980s. The decision to move is one made within a larger-scale, structural framework, but individual assessments of place-specific situations play a large role in this decision as well. Latin America, as a result of the devastating impacts of the debt crisis and neoliberal economics, has become a region full of people on the move -- away from rural areas stripped of productive opportunities for small farmers and away from denuded and polluted landscapes in rainforest and mountain communities into towns and cities oriented more toward industrial export production and Westernized social and culture relations. In the next unit, we explore the opportunities and constraints city life holds for recent in-migrants. We will see that much like the countryside, the cities of Latin America have been similarly affected by the debt crisis and economic restructuring such that there is less government money and support for social programs and for providing jobs to accommodate the large number of people arriving each day.

2 The Role of Migration in Urbanization

Instructor's Guide to Activities

Goal

The goals of the activities in Unit 2 are for students to: (1) understand more fully the push and pull factors behind rural-to-urban migration, (2) confront preconceptions and misrepresentations of immigrants and of the immigrant experience, and (3) investigate concerns and struggles of native populations over native land claims and issues of self-determination.

Learning Outcomes

After completing the activities in this unit, students should:

- ✔ be able to compare and contrast the different forces driving rural-to-urban migration within Latin American countries and from Latin American countries to the United States;
- ✔ have a deeper understanding of and sensitivity to the immigrant experience;
- ✔ be aware of the linkages and interactions among processes operating at numerous geographic scales and have developed an understanding of how abstract policies and issues translate into real and concrete personal experiences; and
- ✔ understand the extent to which global economic restructuring varies in different places and how the encroachment of market relations threatens native lands and peoples.

Choice of Activities

It is neither necessary nor feasible in most cases to complete all activities in each unit. Select those that are most appropriate for your classroom setting and that cover a range of activity types, skills, genres of reading materials, writing assignments, and other activity outcomes. This unit contains the following activities:

2.1 The Push and Pull of America: Migration Trends in the United States	-- data assessment and interpretation, critical reading of text, and group discussion
2.2 Understanding the Immigrant Experience	-- a guest panel of recent migrants relating their experiences, histories, and stories
2.3 Images of Latin America	-- analysis of stereotypes of Latin America in text and visual images, class discussion
2.4 Continent on the Move	-- analysis of a case study, critical film comprehension, and class discussion
2.5 What's at Stake? -- It's not just a matter of "moving"	-- library research, case study analysis, essay writing, and group discussion

Suggested Readings

The following readings accompany the activities for this unit. Choose those readings most appropriate for the activities you select and those most adequate for the skill level of your students.

- Unit 2: The Role of Migration in Urbanization (provided)
  Part 1: Structural Forces Behind Migration
  Part 2: Local Experiences: A Closer Look
  All students should read the background information for Unit 2. Because of the length and challenging nature of this text, we suggest assigning the background text for this unit in two separate sections (Part 1 and Part 2). Activities for this unit cover concepts found in both sections; thus both should be read by all students.
- Frey, William H. 1995. Immigration and internal migration -- 'Flight' from US metro areas: Toward a new demographic balkanization. *Urban Studies* 32 (May).
  This article accompanies Activity 2.1 and provides many of the data tables needed for the analysis and discussion in the activity.
- Sassen, Saskia. 1992. Why migration?" *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 26,1 (July): 14-19.
- Defreitas, Gregory. 1994. Fear of foreigners: Immigrants as scapegoats for domestic woes. *Dollars and Sense* (January/February): 8-9, 33-35. (provided)
  The Sassen and Defreitas articles provide additional background material for the discussion in Activity 2.1. They can be assigned to the class or read by the instructor to help lead the discussion and highlight key issues.
- Linden, Eugene. 1991. Lost tribes, lost knowledges. *Time* (September 23): 46-54.
- Trueheart, Charles and Dennis McAuliffe. 1995. Indians demand power, economic benefits as free markets sweep the hemisphere. *The Washington Post* (September 11): A1.
  The articles from *Time* and *The Washington Post* are easy to read and provide background information for students before they begin their research for the essay assignment in Activity 2.5.

Activity 2.1 The Push and Pull of America: Migration Trends in the United States

Goals

Students learn about various push and pull factors in the United States that affect domestic and international migration. Students understand *who* is moving *where* and *why* and consider the role of global change in sending international migrants to the United States.

Skills

✔ assessing and interpreting data, tables, and figures
✔ group discussion

Material Requirements

- Suggested reading: Frey (1995) and accompanying tables and figures
- Additional readings for the instructor: Sassen (1992); Defreitas (1994) (provided)

Time Requirements

30-40 minutes

Tasks

In this activity, students begin to understand the processes behind what Frey (1995) calls the "new urban revival" in the United States by looking at data that pinpoint specific cities' and states' immigration and emigration rates by sub-groups based on race.

Divide the class into groups of three or four students and ask them to look at the various tables, maps, and figures from Frey (1995) that depict migration trends in the US. (The tables and figures could not be reproduced in this module owing to copyright costs, so allow sufficient time to obtain the article.) You can either provide the figures to students as handouts or put them on an overhead transparency and show them to the class as a whole.

You can conduct this brief activity in a number of different ways: (1) each group can be assigned one metropolis of the US (make sure it is one that shows up in the tables and/or figures in Frey 1995); (2) each group be assigned a "racial" group; or (3) each group could be assigned a specific table or figure and asked to interpret it. For each option, ask each group to consider some specific questions related to their assigned figures; these will vary according to how they were divided, but some possibilities are listed below. For all groups, students should consider how global change is related to the migration patterns they see.

- In general, where are *international* immigrants moving to? Why do you think this is so? (Think about the geographical locations, the different amenities, and/or the economic opportunities that these places have to offer.)
- In general, where are *internal* (domestic) migrants moving to? Where are they coming from? What could be some reasons for these trends?
- What could be some reasons that Iowa, Michigan, or Louisiana are experiencing high rates of *out-migration*? (Refer to Figure 1 in Frey 1995.) Why are Washington, Arizona, and Florida experiencing high rates of *in-migration*?
- Looking at the data for your particular city, take note of its trends in terms of migration: is it experiencing greater in-migration or out-migration? What groups are moving in and what could be some reasons?

Give students about 15-20 minutes to analyze the figures and to answer the questions. Encourage them to jot down notes as they go along. Bring the class back together and discuss some of the trends they noticed. Use the trends noted in *Answers to Activities* to help guide the discussion.

You can also use the article by Sassen (1992) to broaden the discussion or for the data she provides that break down, by country and world region, who is immigrating to America (see especially p.16, "The Numbers" box). This article supports the criticism of approaching migration as an individual, rationally made choice without considering historical, and more recent "globalized" ties (as discussed in Unit 2 *Background Information*). You can either read the article yourself to help you guide the discussion or ask students to read it as homework before the class discussion.

This activity works well as preparation for Activity 2.2 because students will have a better sense of the forces behind migration and will be better prepared to ask questions of the panel members.

Activity 2.2 Understanding the Immigrant Experience

Goals

Students learn first-hand about the issues that many immigrants face.

Skills

- ✔ active listening
- ✔ asking sensible questions
- ✔ critical analysis of the socioeconomic category of "immigrant"

Material Requirements

- 3-4 volunteers to speak to the class about migration issues
- Table and chairs to seat the panel in front of the room

Time Requirements

one class period (50 minutes)

Tasks

There is often no better way for students to learn than by hearing directly from someone who has had personal experience with a particular issue. Students are often riveted by the stories/testimony from guest speakers, and they often recall such information much later in essay exams or during class discussions.

Assemble a panel of two to four people to speak with your class on the subject of immigration. The panel can be particularly interesting if you are able to secure a commitment from (1) a person who works at an agency for immigrants, (2) a recent immigrant, and (3) an immigrant who has been in the country substantially longer. In this way, students can get a feel for the different kinds of issues facing immigrants at different stages, put a human face on the issue to help remove stereotypical images and conceptions, and hear first-hand from a person who knows the kinds of obstacles immigrants face.

The easiest way to find people willing to speak to your class is to contact your university community service liaison office or internship clearing house. If neither of these exist on your campus, try contacting a few community groups or churches in your area. Groups that work with farm workers on various issues (unionizing, improving conditions, etc.) are often good places to consider because of the large number of immigrant farm workers. Alternatively, most classes have some immigrant students, either first generation immigrants or descendants of recent immigrants whom you can ask to share their experiences during the panel.

Be sure to give your speakers at least two weeks notice and provide them with an overview of the subjects the class has been studying, the issues that they may want to speak about, and their time limit. You may need a translator for the presentation.

Ask your students to take notes during the presentations and to ask questions of the speakers. Leave sufficient time at the end of the presentations for questions and discussion.

Activity 2.3 Images of Latin America

Goals

Students examine images of Latin Americans in popular media and consider how these images affect perceptions of people from the region. This activity is intended to complement Activity 2.2.

Skills

- ✔ library research
- ✔ critical analysis of popular media

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 2.3* (provided)
- access to library and popular media sources

Time Requirements

5-10 minutes to introduce activity; 2-3 days outside of class for students to prepare their essays; and a minimum of 30 minutes in class to discuss students' work.

Tasks

Ask students to find two articles and two visual images (i.e., advertisements, newspaper photos, news video) that have Latin America(ns) as their subject. Using these materials, students answer the questions below in a one- to two-page essay.

1. What are the subjects of the stories? What angle does the author use? What is emphasized in the headlines?

2. Where is the article located within the magazine, journal, or newspaper? What information is presented early in the article and what information is presented later? What do you think of this positioning and formatting?
3. What messages do the visual images convey? How is this done?
4. In all the materials, what is the overall image of Latin America(ns)? Is it positive or negative? Where does this perception come from and what role does it serve?

On the day when the essays are due, ask students to share what they found in a brief class discussion. Begin the discussion by reading to the class the following quote from Guillermo Gomez-Pena, a Hispanic performance artist from Los Angeles:

> In general, we are perceived through the folkloric prisms of Hollywood, fad literature and publicity, or through the ideological filters of the mass media. For the average Anglo, we are nothing but "images," "symbols," "metaphors." We lack ontological existence and anthropological concreteness. We are perceived indistinctly as magic creatures with shamanistic powers, happy bohemians with pretechnological sensibilities, or as romantic revolutionaries born in a Cuban poster from the 70s. All this without mentioning the more ordinary myths, which link us with drugs, supersexuality, gratuitous violence, and terrorism, myths that serve to justify racism and to disguise the fear of cultural otherness.
>
> -Taken from Documented/Undocumented, *The GrayWolf Annual*, 1991.

Ask students if any of the articles or advertisements they found support Guillermo-Gomez's criticisms of the representation of Latin Americans. Continue the discussion using the questions above and ask students to share some examples of what they found, including excerpts from articles or photocopies of images. You may want to make a list on the chalkboard of common themes that arise during the discussion. Ask students to think about why such images and stereotypes continue to appear. The information below from Harrison (1995) may be particularly helpful as you guide the discussion:

- Our systems of representation have roots in the colonial period that have created "dominant and dominated identities" (Harrison 1995, p. 287). These identities continue to this day and help lend a sense of superiority to Western knowledge and experience.
- Our teaching of the Third World often reinforces -- knowingly or not -- the idea that in the process of development, there are "winners" and "losers" -- the Third World is a loser or victim and, as such, is inferior to the Western world (Harrison 1995, p. 285).
- We should consider the positionality of the author or creator of texts, maps, advertisements, and articles.
- We should broaden students' understanding of the multiple identities of Third World people -- that is, an individual's identity and position can exist within a complex series of interconnecting situations (Harrison 1995, p. 287).

You may also want to mention the processes listed below during the discussion. By engaging in these kinds of processes and representations, we secure "our" identity by determining that which "we" are not, and we also justify intervention into ways of life that we consider not "modern" enough or "uncivilized."

- *Homogenizing* peoples from Cuba, Mexico, El Salvador, by labeling them as "Hispanic" or "Latin" obscures the rich cultural diversity of the area and denies place-specific identities and experiences.
- *Ethnocentrism* or labeling, interpreting, and understanding Latin America in terms of our worlds, categories, belief systems, and values. If a society, individual, or culture doesn't conform to our norms, we may feel justified in "correcting" it.
- *Othering* or dualizing "Us"/ "not Us," superior/inferior can create a paternalizing relationship.

A Note of Caution: With an activity of this nature, it is always possible that stereotypes can be reinforced rather than deconstructed. Instructors should make a strong effort to ensure that the discussion and the essays go beyond presenting the images to consider how they are constructed and what role they serve in society. Keep the tone of the discussion serious and do not allow students to make light of the materials that are presented.

Activity 2.4 Continent on the Move

Goals

Students see how a number of concepts and processes highlighted in the background information of the module play out in a specific location (Mexico). Students are exposed to the structural forces behind the decision to migrate and the disjuncture between migrants' city life and preconceived notions of urban opportunities.

Skills

- ✔ case study analysis
- ✔ critical film comprehension

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 2.4* (provided)
- Film: *Continent on the move: Migration and urbanization* (Mexico)[4]

Time Requirements

Film is 60 minutes long; allow an additional 15-20 minutes for discussion

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[4] To order the film *Continent on the Move*, call 1-800-LEARNER. The movie is #3 in the series entitled *Americas*, funded by the Annenberg/CPB Collection. It was produced by WGBH/Boston and Central Television Enterprises for Channel 4 in the UK. Cost to purchase is $39.95 (they do not rent films). ISBN: 1-55946-744-4. Running time: 60 minutes.

Tasks

This well-produced, engaging 1993 film showcases migration as "the most important process shaping the region [of Latin America] today." The film has obvious connections to the background information of the module including the increasing inability to live a productive life in the countryside, the debt crisis, preparations for free trade, and women's roles in export manufacturing. It also introduces some concepts and scenarios that will be highlighted in Unit 3 (e.g., the informal economy, the realities of city life, etc.). With the help of some guiding questions and subsequent discussion, students are encouraged to think about the importance of geographical scales on collective and individual actions, the role of individual agency within urban and rural settings, and how the portrayal of hard-working Mexicans might conflict with US stereotypes.

Provide students with a copy of *Student Worksheet 2.4* prior to the movie. The questions on the worksheet are designed to prepare students for a discussion of the film, to give them time to think a bit about what they saw, and to give them something to look at during the discussion in order to refresh their memories. It also provides a handy study guide when the time comes for midterms or finals. You might consider telling students that they will be asked to hand in their responses; this might encourage them to take the movie a little more seriously and to respond completely to the questions. This strategy is optional.

If your class meets during a standard 50 minute period, the film will require an entire class period to show. (Because the film is 60 minutes long, you may have to cut the film short, ask students to stay a little longer, or show the remaining 10 minutes of the film during the next class period.) Ask students to complete the student worksheet as homework and use the beginning of the next class period to discuss the film and their responses to the questions.

Activity 2.5 What's at stake? -- It's not just a matter of "moving"

Goals

Students understand the effects of rural restructuring and resource extraction on native peoples by examining case studies on native struggles over land claims and self-determination.

Skills

- ✔ library research
- ✔ critical reading comprehension
- ✔ case study analysis
- ✔ essay writing
- ✔ group discussion

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 2.5* (provided)

- *Supporting Material 2.5* (provided)
- Suggested reading: Linden (1991)
- Suggested reading: Trueheart and McAuliffe (1995)

Time Requirements

Part I: minimum of five days outside of class
Part II: one class period (50 minutes)

Tasks

Part I

Because the Unit 2 *Background Information* provided a generalized treatment of the loss of native knowledge with the encroachment of rural restructuring and resource extraction, this activity encourages students to find case studies that detail some of the struggles occurring today over native land claims and issues of self-determination.

Divide the class into two large groups; one-half of the class will be responsible for finding case studies from Latin America, while the other half will be responsible for finding cases from the US and Canada (or any MDC for that matter). This insures that North-South parallels can be seen and shows that neoliberal restructuring is not limited to Third World regions affected by the debt crisis. Ask students to read the two suggested readings (Linden 1991; Trueheart and McAuliffe 1995) as homework to gain some background information. Then ask students to find one or two articles that describe a struggle between a specific native group and a government agency, a multinational corporation, or an international institution like the IMF or the World Bank. You can provide a list of native communities that students can choose from which allows you to select indigenous struggles that are appropriate for this activity (see *Supporting Material 2.5* for a list of native struggles and other suggested resources) or you can let students choose their own case study which encourages them to fine-tune their library and research skills. Because students might get tribe names from either of their two required readings, you can declare these "off-limits" to prevent everyone from choosing them. The success of the group discussion in Part II depends on having a wide variety of case studies to discuss and analyze.

Once the students have chosen their native group, they will write a two-page essay for homework based upon the questions found in the student worksheet. (Another option is to have students answer the questions on the worksheet in several paragraphs for each question.) This activity prepares students for Part II in which students discuss and analyze their individual case studies. Give students a minimum of five days to work on the essay. (Less time may be needed if students are asked simply to answer the questions directly rather than to construct an essay.)

Part II

In this part of the activity, students share the information they discovered through their research and make cross-border and cross-regional comparisons of native struggles against market incorporation of resources and land. The discussion should highlight the fact that although all places and peoples have been affected by economic globalization, this process of incorporation varies by place. With the help of some guiding questions, students can begin to see how such native/environmental struggles operate at various geographic scales to garner attention and support.

After students have completed their research and their essays, use one class period for a class discussion. Begin by dividing the class into groups of four to six students, with one-half of each group composed of students who looked at Latin American cases and the other half of students who looked at North American cases. Once in their groups, students will briefly summarize what they discovered about the native community they researched (i.e., Where? What issues? How did the native group address the issue?). Ask each group to appoint a note-taker to keep track of the similarities, differences, and common themes that unfold during the group discussion. Once they have considered parallels and differences, ask the groups to consider the questions on Part II of the student worksheet (also listed below):

1. Given each of your case studies, what strategies were used to confront the issues/problems?
2. Which strategies seemed to work best in terms of gaining the most attention or affecting some sort of change?
3. Of the "successful" strategies, what enabled the groups to gain *access* to some kind of support? Why?
4. What might explain the failure of the less successful strategies?
5. At what *scale* were the strategies pitched? other local tribes? international agencies? the national government? That is, where did the help come from (if indeed the community sought outside help)?

After the groups have had adequate time to address these questions, bring the class back together and ask each group to share what they discussed, especially in terms of the strategies used by the native group and what seemed to work well. Use the suggestions below to guide the discussion and conclude the activity.

- It is likely that at least one group will indicate that gaining access to support for a native community often requires the help of a Caucasian person, a person with an "authority" identity, and/or an international agency (i.e., Randy Borman working with the Cofan of Ecuador, the rock musician Sting helping the Kayapo of Brazil, and "Subcomandante Marcos" being the spokesman for the Chiapan Zapatista rebels). What does this say about how we (the rest of the world) view the legitimacy and relevance of native claims and struggles? The support of these "authorities" can be seen as doubled-edged: on the one hand, the support is probably welcome in that it provides access, attention, and financial/political support, but on the other hand, it still discounts native knowledge and natives' ability to speak for themselves.
- Ask students to think about the ways that global economic restructuring has worked through dominant ways of thinking about native ethnicity. Native knowledge, ways of life, and cultures are discounted or considered irrelevant in the modern world; thus,

ethnicity provides the rationale for moving "forward" without thinking "what's at stake." Because natives are often considered "backwards," "uncivilized," or "impediments to development," modernization attempts are easier to rationalize.

- Finally, point out or ask students to comment on the *agency* involved in these struggles. Too often students think of Third World inhabitants as powerless victims. The very fact that they researched numerous case studies of native struggles against market incorporation should debunk this myth.

2 The Role of Migration in Urbanization

Student Worksheet 2.3

Activity 2.3 Images of Latin America

In this activity, you will look at the ways that Latin America and people from that region are portrayed in US popular culture. The purpose of the activity is for you to examine the stereotypes that Americans have of Latin American people and places and how these images are reproduced in our everyday lives.

Select two articles from US newspapers, magazines, or journals that report on a news story from Latin America. In addition, select at least two visual images of Latin American people or places. These can be photographs from a newspaper or magazine, or an advertisement for a product, film, or attraction. Make copies of the articles and images because you may need to hand them as part of the assignment.

Using the materials you have selected, write a one- to two-page essay in which you address the following questions.

1. What are the subjects of the stories? What angle does the author use? What is emphasized in the headlines?
2. Where is the article located within the magazine, journal, or newspaper? What information is presented early in the article and what information is left until last? What do you think of this positioning and formatting?
3. What messages do the visual images convey? How is this done?
4. In all the materials, what is the overall image of Latin America(ns)? Is it positive or negative? Where does this perception come from and what role does it serve?

Be prepared to discuss your articles, images, and responses to these questions during the next class period.

Student Worksheet 2.4 Name:

Activity 2.4 Continent on the Move

As you watch the film *Continent on the Move*, use the following questions to help you focus on the main themes and issues in the movie. Your class will discuss these questions after the movie; the more completely you respond, the more prepared you will be to participate in the discussion. You might want to take notes on a separate piece of paper as you watch, going back to fill in your responses on the worksheet later.

1. What are some of the macro-forces that have encouraged movement out of the Mexican countryside, throughout the last several decades and during the 1980s and 1990s? Name at least three.

2. What pull factors have attracted peasants to Mexico City historically?

3. From what you've seen, what does city life entail for poorer in-migrants? Give examples of the *opportunities* and *constraints* that you noticed.

4. According to the film, where has urbanization shifted to recently in Mexico? Why? Compared to Mexico City, are there similar problems/issues in these newer developments?

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5. In general, how were the Mexican people in the film portrayed?

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6. What examples did you see of people working against structural forces?

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Student Worksheet 2.5

Activity 2.5 What's at stake? -- It's not just a matter of "moving"

Part I

As you've learned in this module so far, the decision to leave one's home involves economic as well as social and cultural factors. These factors are not uniform; they vary from place to place and affect communities in very different ways.

In this part of the activity, you will write a two-page essay that examines the effects of global economic restructuring on native communities. By looking at native struggles over land and self-determination, you will examine the ways that the encroachment of market relations (i.e., preparations for free trade (NAFTA); resource extraction of oil, minerals or timber; or the restructuring of farming and the increase in agribusiness) has affected *indigenous communities* in specific areas. Half of the class will be responsible for researching North American case studies while the other half will research Latin American case studies. This will help you to see the parallels *and* the distinctions affecting indigenous communities across national and regional boundaries. Your instructor will either suggest case studies or allow you to select your own.

Instructions

1. Read the articles provided by your instructor. These articles will provide you with important background information that will help you research the native community you choose.

2. Find and read one or two articles that examine a struggle between a native community and a larger entity, such as a government agency, a multinational corporation, and/or an international institution like the IMF or the World Bank. The best way to find articles is to do a newspaper or periodical index search from a computer database, which is accessible in most university libraries. To do this, you will need to have a specific indigenous group in mind (e.g., the Cherokee in North Carolina) or you will need to have a list of general terms to help "pull up" the information you are looking for. Such terms could include:
   - a tribe's name or the name of a state or country
   - "land claims"
   - "Native Americans"
   - "human ecology"
   - "Indians of South America"
   - "economic development -- social aspects"
   - "sacred space -- social aspects"

   Ask a librarian for help if you are unfamiliar with newspaper and periodical computerized indices. Once you retrieve the articles (make sure that they provide enough detail for you to address the guidelines below for the essay), you are ready to write your essay reporting on the native community and its experiences with global economic change.

Use the following guidelines to help you write your essay:

- Place your case study within the larger structural framework; that is, contextualize it and tell the reader briefly what larger forces are behind the issue over which your native community is struggling. Obviously, global economic change should play a large role in your answer, but try to be more specific. This is where some of the background information you learned both from the required articles and the module will come in handy. Give the reader a sense of the motives behind the actions of the corporate, governmental, and/or international actors.
- Explain how the indigenous community has confronted the problem. By themselves? With the help of other people? Violently? Has the strategy they have chosen been effective at changing anything, or at the very least, calling attention to the issue? Why or why not?
- If members of the community are forced, or choose, to move off of their lands, what will be lost? Your article may not give you specific answers, but given what you know about this community, you should be able to hypothesize a bit. Another way to think about this question is to consider how the natives' culture, their knowledge, and their livelihoods are tied to the landscape on which they live.

Attach a photocopy of the article(s) that you used to write your essay.

Part II

After you have completed your research and your essay, you will take part in a class discussion about your findings. Your instructor will divide the class into groups of students who looked at both Latin American and North American cases. Each of you will summarize briefly your case and together you will discuss the differences, similarities, and common themes among the struggles you've examined. Lastly, respond to the following questions based upon all of the case studies in your group:

1. Given each of your case studies, what strategies were used to confront the issues/problems?
2. Which strategies seemed to work best in terms of gaining the most attention or affecting some sort of change?
3. Of the "successful" strategies, what enabled the group to gain *access* to some kind of support? Why?
4. What might explain the failure of the less successful strategies?
5. At what *scale* were the strategies pitched? other local tribes? international agencies? the national government? That is, where did the help come from (if indeed the community sought outside help)?

Ask one or two people in the group to serve as note takers so that you can share the details of your discussion with the rest of the class.

2 The Role of Migration in Urbanization

Answers to Activities

Activity 2.1 The Push and Pull of America: Migration Trends in the United States

Important trends (push/pull factors) to note in the discussion include:

General *International* Migration Trends
- immigrants often initially settle in "port-of-entry" states/cities
- most immigrants gravitate to cities with social networks/relatives already in place
- Latin Americans comprise the single largest foreign-language population in the US and probably the largest population of undocumented migrants as well
- Asians are the fastest-growing group of legally admitted immigrants with annual entries rising from 236,000 in 1980 to 264,000 in 1985. The most represented countries of origin are the Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan
- while immigrants constituted 10 % of the US population in 1987, they made up 30% in New York City and 15% in LA and Chicago (in part because of the expanded service sector in response to the concentration of high-income workers).

General *Internal* Migration Trends
- southward and westward movement (out of recession-plagued "Rust Belt" and New England); out of agricultural, Midwestern areas (the "frost belt")
- movement of retirees into Florida or other "Sunbelt" cities
- movements corresponding to economic growth in particular areas (i.e., Washington state)
- movement of African-Americans into historic South Atlantic and southern cities
- movement of African-Americans out of areas with large black communities that have recently suffered hard times (e.g., Detroit, New Orleans, Cleveland)
- movement of college graduates into large economically dynamic metro areas (e.g., San Francisco, Chicago, Los Angeles, Washington DC, and Dallas)

In addition, there is a process of "demographic balkanization" occurring in the US (Frey 1995). Frey argues that the diversity of the population that is noted at the national scale is not necessarily reproduced at the local/city scale. This is because:
- most immigrants are attracted to a small number of destinations

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- many recent, less-educated internal migrants are directed to *different* destinations than those attracting international migrants because they don't want to compete for low-skilled jobs, which is often the only kind of work immigrants can obtain. (Note: this doesn't mean that all international migrants are low-skilled! Point out to students that low-skilled jobs, often in the service sector, are those most readily available to these migrants and that even highly educated migrants often find themselves in these jobs as, for example, taxi-drivers or residential high-rise attendants. Likewise, try to dispel the myth that immigrants are "taking jobs away" from native workers; these are jobs that native workers often don't want because of the nature of the job, e.g., custodial work, or its low pay). Refer to the supplemental article by Gregory Defreitas for more information on these issues.

Activity 2.2 Understanding the Immigrant Experience

Because this activity is an in-class guest speaker panel, there are no specific answers. Encourage students to take notes and to ask questions of the guests.

Activity 2.3 Images of Latin America

This activity is primarily an in-class discussion; therefore, no specific answers are provided. Students are asked to prepare a short essay about the representation of Latin Americans in two articles and two advertisements. You may choose to assign the essay simply as a way to help students prepare for the discussion. Alternatively, you can ask students to hand in the essay with copies of the articles and images. In this case, student essays should be thoughtful, critical, and should respond briefly to the questions posed on the worksheet.

Activity 2.4 Continent on the Move

In your discussion of the film, begin by asking the students to share their responses to the questions on the student worksheet. Students may be more willing to talk if they have something written down in front of them that they have thought about prior to class. Start with the first question, which is a general "listing" question, and move through the questions that get progressively more discussion-oriented.

Below are answers to each question that the students are likely to come up with.

1. What are some of the macro-forces that have encouraged movement out of the Mexican countryside, throughout the last several decades and during the 1980s and 1990s? Name at least three.
   - the decay of the rural economy due to the privileging of agribusiness post-1940;
   - *ejido* plots of poor quality and small size to begin with;
   - ISI between 1940-70s directed investment more toward the cities;
   - the debt crisis in the 1980s;
   - the preparations for free trade (including "industrial parks replacing ploughs and tractors" says the narrator and/or the dismantling of Article 27 which ends land reform and allows for the sale of ejido plots).
   - According to Jonathon Kandell (1988, excerpted in Joseph and Szuchman 1996) between 1940 and 1970, more than 4 million people left their homes in the countryside to establish themselves in the capital (p.184). There was a 74% increase in the numbers of landless agrarian workers between 1940 and 1960 (p.185).

2. What pull factors have attracted peasants to Mexico City historically?
   - ISI policies privileging city growth and urban industrialization;
   - oil revenues providing more money for urban infrastructure investment;
   - real wages climbing during the "Mexican Miracle" in the 1970s;
   - better opportunities for social mobility (growing middle class);
   - increasingly better services provided for poorer neighborhoods (emphasize that this was in the 1970s however, when oil revenues were at their peak); and
   - family ties and networks.

3. From what you've seen, what does city life entail for poorer in-migrants? Give examples of the *opportunities* and *constraints* that you noticed.
   - informal economy (can be viewed as an opportunity -- people of any skills can work -- and a constraint -- poor wages, working conditions);
   - begging;
   - poor housing conditions;
   - garbage picking;
   - lack of social services;
   - surplus laborers keeping wages low (re: the scene showing the open air "market" for construction laborers);
   - family support and cooperation being a crucial "survival strategy";
   - urban violence; and
   - coalition-building and self-help projects.

4. According to the film, where has urbanization shifted to recently in Mexico? Why? Compared to Mexico City, are there similar problems/issues in these newer developments?

   Urbanization has shifted to the northern border area of Mexico because of the rise of the *maquiladora* ("*maquilas*") industry. This is directly linked to our theme of global economic change/globalization. To illustrate, you can talk about the geographic disintegration of the manufacturing process and that the *maquilas* are responsible for the assembly of certain (often small electrical) components of, for example, Walkmans, CD players, or cars, which are then sent somewhere else to finish the assembly process. The film does a great job of showing how women are vital to this process, because of their cheap labor. You can also explore this "gendering" of the global manufacturing process with the students. See Kamel (1990) for a discussion of this topic in general.

5. In general, how were the Mexican people in the film portrayed?

   Mexican people are portrayed as hard-working, dedicated to their families and improving their lives, entrepreneurial, articulate, and determined to fight actively for their rights. This question can also lead to a discussion of broader issues. Ask students: *Were you surprised by these portrayals? Why? What affected your perceptions?* Discuss how this depiction of Mexicans is different from ways that the average American might see them

6. What examples did you see of people working against structural forces?

   - The example of Assemblea de Barrios (barrios assembly) as a grassroots initiative working to improve shanty-town conditions and the government responses to, and support for, them. The character of "Superbarrio Gomez"; the coming together of a wide variety of peasant organizations in the rally protesting the dismantling of Article 27.
   - Ask students whether they think these kinds of actions will have any effects on larger scale operations. Have there been any examples in the US where "the people" have affected government policies? Let them consider this question for a while, and then, in order to reinforce the idea that structural forces are not *always* so monolithic that they cannot be changed, point out the example of the Chiapas rebellion. This is a great example of people organizing against structural forces (in this case, in protest against the way that NAFTA, and neoliberal restructuring in general, did not consider the effects on native ways of life and cultures) and actually making a difference! The Zapatistas galvanized widespread public support (from Mexicans and foreigners alike) that in turn put pressure on the Mexican government to consider the Zapatista grievances. Moreover, a number of Mexican scholars (including, e.g., June Nash; John Ross and Jorge Castaneda) have credited the Zapatistas with encouraging massive disinvestment and subsequently, the fall of the peso in December 1994.

     Getting students to think of the numerous ways scales interact and *influence one another* (as opposed to the one-way view) keeps them from seeing structural forces as all-encompassing and most importantly, encourages them to always consider *individual agency*.

Activity 2.5 What's at stake? -- It's not just a matter of "moving"

Student essays will vary depending upon the native communities they choose to research. Essays should be no more than two pages in length and should follow the guidelines specified on the student worksheet. See *Notes on Active Pedagogy* for suggestions on evaluating students' written work.

3 Life on the Edge: Informality in the Urban Setting

Background Information

> On a street corner in El Alto, Bolivia, a city rising over 12,000 feet, 19-year old Livia Siniani stands with a scarf wrapped around her face to ward off the biting cold. As she sells gasoline by the liter in large cans, she tells a journalist "I sell it to people who don't have enough gas to make it to the gas station or can't afford to buy more than one liter. It's just a way of coping - the poor selling to the poor." Livia is just one of many eking out a living in this city, which has grown relentlessly in the last decade with an average annual growth rate of 9 percent, making it one of the fastest growing cities in the world. The growth rate stems in large part from the desperate poverty in the countryside of Bolivia, where 97 percent of rural peasants live below poverty lines. Gomercinda Valdez de Sajama, a mother of eight who moved to El Alto a decade ago, sums up the attraction of city life for poor peasants: "In the countryside, when you run out of food, you starve. Here, whether you are rich or poor, there is always something. I don't know how to read or write, but my children learned to here. I've suffered so much, but my children will suffer less." This faith in what the city has to offer might come as a surprise to those aware of its obvious lackings: for example, there exists only one 33-bed hospital and only one telephone for each 100 inhabitants. As Jorge Fernandez, a pediatrician at the sole hospital notes, "It's a city in quotation marks. Everything is missing here."
>
> Source: Kamm, Thomas. 1994. Epidemic of slums affects Latin America. *The Wall Street Journal* (30 August): A6. Reprinted with the permission of The Wall Street Journal. © 1994 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved Worldwide.

These observations from Bolivia provide a sense of how different people experience city life in Latin America. They also illustrate the problems and opportunities that characterize all Latin American cities in the late twentieth century: a lack of basic infrastructure and social services to support a burgeoning population paired with a belief that the city, despite its shortcomings, still offers many opportunities not found in the countryside. Although these issues have been present in Latin American cities for decades, it is only recently, with the debt crisis and global economic restructuring, that they have become more pervasive in urban areas. Because governments have less revenue to spend on the basic upkeep of cities and the provision of services, cities have become areas of massive sprawl, serious environmental problems, and widespread poverty.

There are numerous examples of how **urban sprawl** has created nightmarish conditions in Latin American cities. In Sao Paulo, Brazil, for instance, many workers spend four hours on a bus to get to and from work because the sprawl is so extensive (over 500 hilly square miles) and the subway lines are no longer sufficient (Robinson 1989, A18). The four million cars that circulate through the city on a daily basis have caused such severe pollution that officials have placed pollution monitors around the city to inform residents about air conditions (Robinson 1989, A18). Likewise, Mexico City sprawls over 950 square miles (about three times the area of New York City) and its residents' three million automobiles emit a total of 12,000 tons of pollutants into the atmosphere every day (Kandell 1988, in Joseph and Szuchman 1996, 187).

Many people living in Latin American cities find themselves crowded into densely packed shanty towns because of the lack of affordable housing. In Lima, Peru, two-thirds of the working-age population live in shanty towns (Robinson 1989, A18). In Mexico City, an average square kilometer contains 5,494 people, making it the city with the highest demographic density in the world (Kandell 1988, in Joseph and Szuchman 1996, 181). The highest density rates are found in **barrios** that weave among the city's more established neighborhoods and continue to grow despite the lack of services such as clean running water and trash pickup.

Nonetheless, city life offers poor people more hope for a better life than just about any other place. In the city, they have greater access to resources to transform their situations, however marginally. With innovation, family support, and luck, the poor can eke out a living on the fringes of the urban landscape and its economy.

It is clear from the observations of El Alto residents and the more general descriptions of daily life in cities that the Latin American urban landscape is characterized by informality. Informality can be seen concretely in informal settlements (shanty towns) that, despite the lack of roads, schools, houses, and clean water, absorb the overflow of in-migrants arriving daily in the cities. Informality also illustrates that, because of the recent contraction of the public sector coupled with the still-struggling industrial sector, the formal economy is incapable of generating enough jobs to accomodate the wave of urban newcomers (Lopez 1993, 25). As a result, the poor are left to fend for themselves with meager resources, creating work in the informal sectorg by trading in small urban goods (watches, cigarette lighters, used magazines), selling handicrafts, cooking meals, fixing bicycles, taking part in street entertainment (jugglers, fire-eaters), and even assembling clothing or electronic parts at home for large corporations (Lopez 1993, 25). The informal sector provides opportunities as well as extreme hardships and inequalities.

We focus on informal housing and employment because they are integral to global economic change. On the one hand, informality has become the primary human response -- derived from inventiveness and family networking -- to the effects of global economic restructuring within cities in lesser developed countries (LDCs), allowing for a certain degree of crisis management on the individual/family level. On the other hand, because it has helped compensate for the inequalities and the suffering imposed by Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), the informal sector has actually subsidized processes of globalization. (Discussed in more detail in Unit 2, SAPs are policy packages designed to impose structural changes on LDC economies in order to improve the state of the economy, repay foreign debts, and prevent future economic crises.) In other words, the informal economy has created a "space" in the literal and figurative sense that encompasses a large, impoverished labor reserve that keeps wages low. As you learned in Unit 1, low wages have been a key "selling point" for LDC national governments to attract foreign investment. They also enable participation in the NIDL (New International Division of Labor), which refers to the physical geographic splitting of production and consumption that has been made possible with recent advances in telecommunications (e.g., faxes and e-mail) and transportation (e.g., container shipping). Whereas in the past the production of a particular good took place in more or less one location, it is now possible for the various components of a product to be produced in many locations, assembled in another, and then transported to the consumer market of choice -- a true "global factory."

In the following section, we consider how poverty on a national scale, resulting from debt and restructuring, has radically affected individual poverty levels. By contextualizing daily experiences within the framework of urban structural change, we see how people have responded locally to the debt crisis and to SAPs, while carving out a niche for themselves in the new global economy. Specifically, we look at how poverty forces informal settlements into the least desirable environmental locations and how these settlements affect the environment. We then look at the informal economy, how it differs from the "formal" sector, and its role in urban life. Finally, we examine how gender, in terms of urban women's employment, has played a crucial role in sustaining emerging economic and social relations in a more integrated world.

The Real Issue? -- Poverty

During the summer of 1992, Rio de Janeiro hosted a summit on the state of the world's environment that was attended by world leaders, environmentalists, scholars, citizens, and journalists. There was great hope that by working together, the global community could respond to pressing problems like global warming. However, to many LDC officials and representatives, the Summit felt like an opportunity for citizens of MDCs to place the blame for such issues on attempts by LDCs to industrialize and modernize. At issue was the lack of strict environmental standards in industrial areas in LDCs and the amount of fossil fuel pollutants emitted into the atmosphere from factories. LDC representatives responded defensively; they argued that they are a group of nations struggling to play 'catch-up' in the race to industrialize and modernize; they are following models set forth by development agencies and MDCs; they have the right to enjoy the benefits that come with being a modern, prosperous nation; and while agreeing to work diligently to prevent unnecessary pollution, they will nonetheless continue to industrialize and develop in the manner that they have followed for decades. The message from the LDCs was clear: national poverty is at the root of environmental deterioration in LDCs and MDCs have not been very good role models.

The following quote from Indira Gandhi, India's late prime minister quoted years before the Summit, reminds us of the debate between LDCs and MDCs:

> How can we speak to those who live in the villages and in the slums about keeping the oceans, the rivers, and the air clean when their own lives are contaminated? Are not poverty and need the greatest polluters? (Leonard and Morell 1981, in Page 1988, 109).

Gandhi's argument is similar to those of the LDC representatives in Rio, but it is directed at the individual scale. To address the number of problems plaguing LDC cities, we must look at the underlying issues causing them. Judging from the opinions of the LDC Summit representatives and Indira Gandhi, the issue is poverty (at a number of scales) and the way it creates situations in which survival -- in the world economy or in the local *barrio* -- becomes more important than long-term considerations. Poverty, broadly characterized here as insufficient resources (monetary, natural, and governmental) and a lack of necessities, affects how and where people live and survive and is often created and compounded by the structural framework within which people operate (as we saw in Unit 2 with the discussion of rural restructuring).

At issue here is how national scale concerns over economic development have (1) constricted the choices that individuals can make and (2) exacerbated impoverished living conditions by failing to redistribute what little economic growth has been generated. Many government officials see the serious national and international issues that their countries face as the most important and politically expedient ones to address. Issues like the debt crisis and entering the global network of trade take precedence over more local concerns; these priorities are encouraged by the neoliberal attitude that local problems can wait, and indeed will benefit, if economic development is allowed to "trickle down." To clarify this argument, let's examine the relationships between individual and national need and how they work to produce a deteriorating Latin American urban landscape.

A Place for the Poor -- Informal Shelter

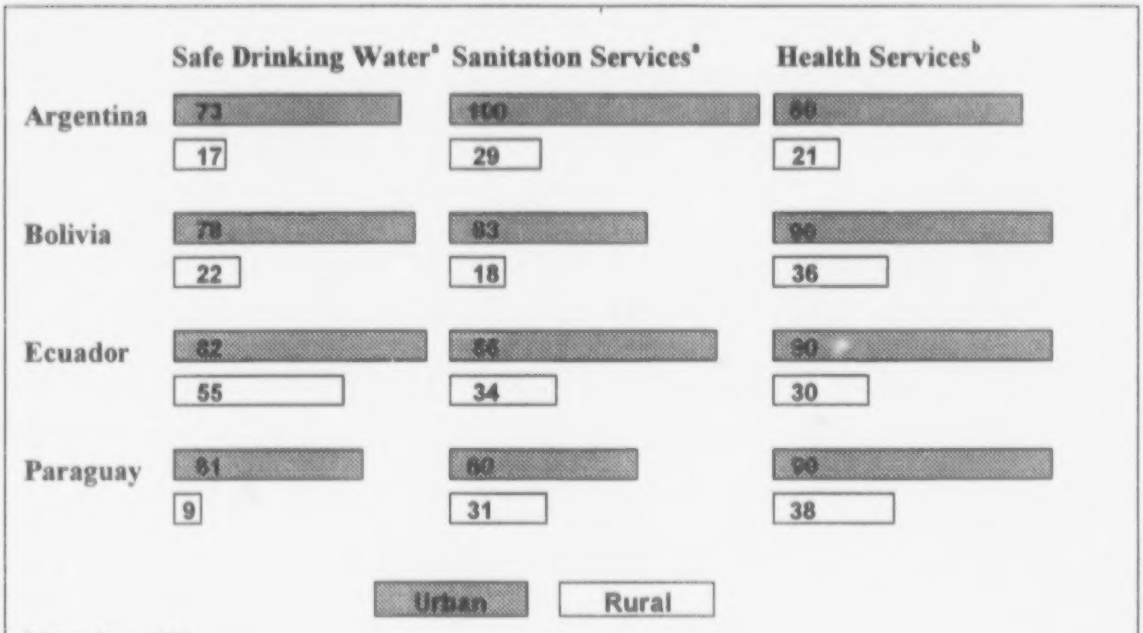
Informal settlements are perhaps the most visible sign of widespread poverty. Variously called *favelas* (in Brazil), *pueblos jovenes* (young towns), *barrios*, *asentamiento irregulares* (irregular settlements), *villas miserias* (miserable villages -- Argentina), squatter settlements, or shanty towns, these areas are usually characterized by the following: (1) dwellings are built by the current or original occupant, (2) inhabitants have no legal title to the land, and (3) settlements lack, to varying degrees, urban services such as water, power, sanitation, or roads. By the year 2000, the UN estimates that approximately 1 billion people (roughly one-sixth of the world's population) will live in substandard housing. In Latin America, 1980 estimates of the population living in informal settlements were alarming. For example, 59% of the total population of Bogota and 40% of Mexico City's population were estimated to live in informal settlements (UN 1986).

As Indira Gandhi's words suggest, it is nearly impossible to discuss environmental problems without considering the role of poverty. Thus, in urban settings it is impossible to separate environmental deterioration from its links with informal settlements. Poor people are often forced to relocate to environmentally fragile places such as steep and unstable hillsides, floodplains, or other areas prone to natural hazards (Page 1988, 104). Once settled in such locations, the large number of people intensifies already tenuous environmental conditions. For example, ten miles east of downtown Mexico City, an informal settlement named Ciudad Nezahualcoyotl ("Neza" for short) has grown to over three million residents, making it the fourth most populous "city" in Mexico. Established in the early 1950s, over the years Neza's inhabitants have come to the settlement to escape the crowded slums in downtown Mexico City or the impoverished rural areas.

> It is easy to see why the poor found living space in Ciudad Nezahualcoyotl. Neza is an ecological wasteland spurned by middle-class and affluent Mexicans. Sprawling over the partially dried bed of Lake Texcoco, its earth is so saline that hardly a tree or shrub grows in the community. And because it is located at the bottom of the Valley of Mexico, Neza becomes a natural tub during the wet season. The rains accumulate in stagnant pools, mix with raw sewage, and seep into wells, polluting the drinking water. An overwhelming smell of organic waste saturates the air. Some of it emanates from the shrinking remains of Lake Texcoco, which receives piped sewage from Mexico City. There is also the stench from the enormous open-air garbage dump that creates a no-man's-land behind the lake and the eastern periphery of the slum. In the dry season, dust and fecal particles swirl up in the winds, spreading airborne gastrointestinal diseases. (Kandell 1988, in Joseph and Szuchman 1996, 189.)

This description of Neza resonates powerfully with Gandhi's observation of the "contaminated lives" poor people experience while living in informal settlements. As evident in Figure 2, the shortcomings of urban life that lead to the kind of decay Kandell depicts in Neza are common in other Latin American countries and other world regions as well. While these conditions may seem horrendous and unbearable to us, it is often the only alternative for people living impoverished lives. As Figure 2 illustrates, urban areas often offer better conditions than rural ones.

Figure 2: Access to Safe Drinking Water, Sanitation, and Health Services in Selected Latin American Countries (% of Urban and Rural Population with Access to Services)



[a] Data from 1985
[b] Data from 1980-1987

Source: Data extracted from World Resources Institute. 1990. *World resources 1990-91.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, Table 16.4, p. 260. ©1990 reprinted with the permission of Oxford University Press. World Resources Institute.

Although it is individuals who experience poverty, the presence and location of informal settlements are not simply the result of individual choices and/or localized conditions; they are also connected to economic change at a national and international level. Why do these problems persist and how do the poor cope with daily conditions like those described above? The answers require that we examine the larger structural framework within which LDC cities exist in the late twentieth century. As we noted earlier, attempts by LDC national governments in recent decades to become more economically developed have been perhaps the biggest factor in aggravating urban inequalities. We turn now to the effects of the debt crisis and economic restructuring on city life.

Informal Work and Poverty

"In 1980, 118 million Latin Americans -- about a third of the region's total population -- were poor. By 1990, that number had increased to 196 million, or nearly half the total population. Eighty percent of these 78 million 'new poor' live in cities" (Vilas 1996, 16). The phenomenal growth of urban poverty has been linked to the failure of LDC economies to attain the economic growth rates needed to increase standards of living. As the full recessionary impacts of the debt crisis hit urban centers, governments were unable to provide a number of critical services that help cities run smoothly, such as new sources of employment, credit or other benefits to small-scale producers, social services to rapidly expanding populations, and shelter and basic urban infrastructure. The small revenues that were generated were directed to debt servicing and streamlining the economy under the advice of the **International Monetary Fund** (IMF) and the World Bank. In response to the hardships incurred by the debt crisis, the demands of international creditors, and the global economy, two interrelated outcomes emerged: (1) the rise of the informal sector and (2) an intensification of export-oriented industrialization.

The widespread loss of manufacturing jobs and the large numbers of rural in-migrants to cities during the 1980's increased the number of people competing for a very limited number of jobs in the "formal" sectors of the economies. Employment options for middle- and lower-class people became more and more limited as industrial restructuring reduced the number of unionized, relatively well-paying jobs. In Mexico City and Medellin, Columbia, for example, manufacturing employment declined by 25% between 1980 and 1988 (Gilbert 1994, 63). At the same time, the growth in the business and corporate sectors led to an increase of very high paid jobs for the top few employees. The burgeoning business sector required an increase in the number of low-paid jobs to support its operation. This support network includes office cleaners, food service workers, street and shop vendors, and child-care workers, among others. As a result, LDC economies became polarized with a small minority benefiting from restructuring and a majority searching for their niche in these new economies, even when that niche involved arduous work for poor wages.

What emerged was an informal sector called the "fourth dimension," or an "invisible" exchange network based on self-employment that is the urban equivalent of rural self-subsistence (Lopez 1993, 24). Lopez calls the informal economy the "fourth dimension" because it does not adhere to the officially recognized sectoral distinctions of economic theory, and indeed, actually falls outside state regulation and state protection. Laws protecting minimum wage or working conditions, for example, have little or no effect on informal employment conditions. By helping absorb the deficiencies of the rural primary sector (agriculture) and by offering a productive role and a living space for those displaced from the secondary (manufacturing) and tertiary (formal service) sectors in the city, the informal urban economy has helped extend the self-sufficiency of the countryside of years past to self-employment in the city. The informal economy has thus become an amalgamation of different innovative and productive activities that are difficult to categorize within traditional economic theory. Perhaps an easy way to understand how the informal sector can be characterized is to compare it with the formal sector (see Table 6).

Table 6: Characteristics of the Formal and Informal Sectors

Formal Sector	Informal Sector
difficult entry	ease of entry
overseas (imported) inputs	local/ indigenous inputs
corporate property	family property
large scale of activity	small scale of activity
capital intensive	labor intensive
imported technology	adapted technology
formally acquired skills (often from another country)	skills from outside school system
protected markets (e.g., tariffs, quotas, licensing arrangements)	unregulated/ competitive market

Source: Adapted from C. Rogerson. 1985. The First Decade of Informal Sector Studies, Environmental Studies Occasional Paper 25. Cited in Drakakis-Smith. 1987. *The Third World city*. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., p. 65.

Although the characteristics that distinguish the formal sector from the informal sector in Table 6 are generalized, they nonetheless indicate the various ways that the two sectors differ from one another. This list also conveys a sense that the informal sector is localized and relatively self-contained. It implies that only the formal sector has "links" to the outside world through, for example, technological transfer and formal education. While it is true that the informal sector does not have an advanced network like the formal sector, it is incorrect to view informal workers as closed and restricted in their interactions with more "formal" activities and relations.

Because it is so difficult to classify, the informal economy has been viewed by some planners, politicians, and scholars as having no function other than providing for the daily survival of the poor. The informal activities of the poor are often perceived as peripheral to "normal" urban behavior and activities, and are thus known as the "invisible" sector within cities. By referring to these activities as the "fourth dimension," Lopez draws our attention to the fact that the informal economy should not and cannot be separated from the distinct primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors of the formal economy. Her terminology gives us a way to think about a vital part of the economy that might otherwise be overlooked.

In rapidly changing and globally integrated economies, the informal economy has been a crucial aspect of economic restructuring and has played a critical compensatory role in the debt crisis. The informal economy has kept wages low and has subsidized numerous formal sector activities by serving as a "safety valve" that absorbed unemployment in the formal sectors during the debt crisis. Employment in the informal economy in nine Latin American countries increased by 6.8% annually between 1980 and 1985 (Gilbert 1994, 70). Recent PREALC (the International Labor Organization's Regional Employment Program in Latin America) figures show that the contribution of the informal sector to urban employment in Latin America rose from 25.6% in 1980 to 30.8% in 1990, *rising especially quickly in the economies most affected by recession* (emphasis ours). Thus, rather than hindering urban economic expansion, the urban poor use their own energies to meet their needs (at least partially) at little cost to urban authorities. "In short, the poor house, feed, and clothe themselves with little government help and yet provide a ready, on-the-spot labor supply for expanding formal sector activities" (Drakakis-Smith 1987, 67).

The latter half of Drakakis-Smith's quote makes an especially important point. Aside from merely absorbing excess labor, the informal economy has proven to be an integral part of the waged and regulated formal sector. An example of this relationship is a widely cited case study on the ways that "trash pickers" in the city of Cali, Columbia have assisted indirectly in the industrial production of paper products (Birkbeck 1979). One of the main industries in Cali is the production of paper and rubber. Cartón de Columbia, the city's primary producer of paper products normally imports wood pulp from Canada and Chile as an industrial input. As the prices of wood pulp climbed during the 1970s, it became far cheaper to rely in part on recycled waste paper. This created a new opening in the market and, with well over 2,000 trash pickers in the city, it created a market for those operating informally. Without contracts and without a set pay scale, pickers find, sort, bundle, and sell paper to be used as raw material input by Cartón de Columbia.

The presence of such a network of pickers gives Cartón de Columbia the opportunity to work through an informal-formal hierarchy. Rather than selling waste paper directly to the company, the pickers sell their bundles of paper to satellite warehouses, which offer no contracts and no set pay scale, thus creating an informal relationship between the warehouses and pickers. The satellite warehouses then sell to middle men, who set the price of paper according to the prices established in their contracts with Cartón de Columbia. The presence of such a contract signifies a more formal relationship between the company and the middle men.

This kind of "flexible production" benefits Cartón de Columbia significantly because garbage pickers are not on the payroll and their labor and the paper collected by them is inexpensive. If the market fluctuates, the company can simply demand less paper without being locked contractually into importing a certain amount from other countries. If the garbage pickers unionize suddenly or demand higher prices and contracts, the paper company can simply quit buying from them. Recycled paper is only bought as long as it is cheaper than importing higher quality and more desirable wood pulp. Thus, external prices of wood pulp set the upper limit on how much pickers are able to earn. The opportunities provided to the poor rely strictly on the presence of the informal economy. Trash picking is not only an expression of poverty, it also has a large role in maintaining poverty via the perpetuation of the informal economy (Birkbeck 1979, 161).

Vending is another example of how the formal economy benefits from the presence of the informal economy. On street corners throughout Latin America, the presence of people (especially small children) selling chewing gum, cigarettes, candy, plastic toys, or magazines and newspapers is common. Small, independently-owned shops selling similar goods have also cropped up throughout the cities. This low cost distribution system benefits companies producing these goods. "What better way for a company producing cigarettes or chewing gum than to have a labor force on virtually every road junction and pavement in the city?" (Gilbert 1994, 69).

Focusing solely on the benefits of the informal sector for the urban poor overlooks its exploitative aspects. In fact, as the examples of Cartón de Columbia and street vending indirectly show, the informal sector is not self-contained but is linked to the rest of the urban economy in an exploitative way. Drakakis-Smith (1987, 72) points out that rather than rely on the term "informal sector" exclusively, "most researchers now refer to 'petty-commodity' or 'petty capitalist' production which more accurately reflects the subordinate or controlled nature of the activity." He also examines some of these unequal relationships (Drakakis-Smith 1987, 73). For instance, most entrepreneurs of enterprises are waged and own equipment or the necessary capital for the operation of the business (i.e., owning pedicabs that are rented daily to informal workers or advancing cash to food vendors to buy products at wholesale markets). This kind of relationship leaves the informal worker dependent on the entrepreneur and lessens their likelihood of being able to strike out on their own in the same business. Informal activities also keep the cost of living down for the already wealthy. At the same time, the money that small-scale producers are able to make is often spent on goods like food, cigarettes, or inputs for their own businesses (e.g., kerosene, metal utensils, and tools). These expenditures become profit for the manufacturer and "constitute an income transfer from poor to rich that far outweighs the smaller returns that flow in other directions" (Drakakis-Smith 1987, 73). In short, viewing the informal sector in terms of the inequalities it produces and reinforces helps us to understand why urban poverty, and the informal sector within which it exists, has not been formally addressed or remedied. The informal sector serves a distinct function in keeping government costs at a minimum during periods of economic instability, and it subsidizes the activities of those with more political clout (i.e., the business and/or wealthier classes).

The functions of the informal sector have become even more important in the contemporary period of global economic restructuring. In the next section, we will look at how the informal sector provides the flexibility demanded in today's marketplace and the ways in which it literally supports the New International Division of Labor (NIDL) by sustaining cheap wages with which to attract foreign investment.

The Drive for Flexibility and Profits: Globalization and Informal Workers

In recent years, as part of the intensification of export-oriented industrialization and the drive toward free trade and global economic integration, companies in Latin America, both domestic and foreign, have sought ways to increase output and profits while cutting production costs and labor costs. One of the easiest ways to cut costs has been to eliminate formal jobs and to rely increasingly on **subcontracting**. Under subcontracting, production facilities employ workers outside of the formal employment process to produce one small aspect of a product, such as sewing garments or assembling electronic parts. Workers get paid for each individual product they assemble rather than receiving an hourly or yearly salary. Subcontracting offers a number of benefits for the production facility because it ensures a supply of various types of labor that would otherwise be unacceptable within the unionized parent firm. The fluctuating, labor-intensive phases of production can be performed by cheap, unorganized, unskilled, off-premises workers at considerable savings to the parent company (Lawson 1992, 7).

We can begin to see the complex ways that the presence of an informal sector facilitates corporate strategies like subcontracting, and how conditions of poverty in LDC cities subsidize the NIDL. For example, urban informality lowers the cost of labor production. Because it costs relatively little to live in informal settlements, employers feel less compelled to offer a decent living wage (Gilbert 1994, 70). Moreover, the number of people desperate for work in the cities keeps wages low inside and outside factory gates; employees know that if they demand higher wages, they can easily be replaced by someone who will readily work for whatever wage employers offer.

As we noted in Unit 1, foreign investors who want to establish manufacturing plants are attracted to LDCs by the low wages and the ready supply of laborers. The informal sector plays a large role in securing both of these attractions and provides the flexibility required in a competitive global market. Such flexibility is important because products originating from LDCs are susceptible to the fluctuating and unpredictable markets of the MDCs. For example, the garment industry is very prominent in LDCs, producing low-cost apparel for Western markets. However, with the fickle nature of the fashion industry, it is often necessary for these factories to be able to shift or slow down production drastically. Flexibility allows manufacturers to produce only what is needed and reduce the risk of lost profits.

Flexibility has subsequently become the "catch-phrase" of the NIDL and economic globalization; it helps maintain efficiency and profitably in an increasingly competitive world by displacing the risks of production onto low-income workers. As a result, workers cannot always count on regular work and what work they do find increasingly entails subcontracting and/or **homeworking** at substandard wages and in unregulated working conditions. People involved in work contracted by a garment industry have to purchase equipment (e.g., sewing machines). If the company suddenly stops producing a certain item that required the labor of that worker, the worker incurs the cost of both the machine and the lost wages, while the parent company is out relatively little.

Subcontracting and homeworking have become vital aspects of neoliberal restructuring strategies; they offer the flexibility and profitability that are crucial to stay "afloat" in the globalized world. Yet we must ask, which people are in the position most able to accommodate flexibility? Our discussion of the informal sector would be incomplete if it did not consider what has been called the "feminization of industrial restructuring" (Lawson 1995). Because of dominant cultural beliefs about gender roles that are prevalent in most LDCs (i.e., women are responsible for maintaining the household and raising children) and the fact that women's labor outside the household is less valued than men's so that women can be paid less, industries find women to be perfectly suited to subcontracting and homeworking. In the next section we will look briefly at the ways that **patriarchy** shapes women's wage-earning experiences.

Targeting Women: The Newest Labor Force

In nearly every society throughout history the concept of work has been gendered and viewed in dualist terms. Men are seen as those who work outside the home, in the formal and productive labor force, while women are viewed as the primary caretakers of the household and children. Women's work inside the home, including food preparation, cleaning, health care, and child rearing reduces family expenses and dependence on outside services and resources. In addition, household work helps to keep men's wages low; employers can justify paying men less because he doesn't have to spend extra money on outside services to stay properly dressed, fed, and healthy. His wife, mother, or other female relatives keep him "maintained" for free. Thus the feminized domestic sphere becomes a way to subsidize labor production.

In urban areas in LDCs today, the domestic sphere has taken on added importance, as has the broadening of "women's work," within the framework of recent economic instability and SAPs. On the one hand, as social welfare programs like education, health care, or affordable shelter have been eroded by widespread government disinvestment, households have had to assume more and more responsibility for these activities. Since most of these activities fall within the domestic reproductive sphere, they often fall on women's shoulders. Because poor urban households are increasingly located in decaying environmental conditions, women have the added responsibility of securing clean water and keeping their homes clean and healthy for their family members. On the other hand, with the reduction of formal employment in general, women have been forced to find some sort of waged labor to supplement a husband's or father's decreasing wages or to support a family as the sole breadwinner. As Cunningham and Reed (1995, 25) argue, "structural adjustment places debt reduction in front of basic social needs, especially women's needs . . . these austere economic packages increase women's hardships relative to men's."

The need to earn wages for daily survival has pushed women into the formal and informal labor force with no reduction in the burden of their growing household responsibilities. The necessary blending of the domestic sphere with waged work has led to what scholars have called the **double day**. Women not only face a full day of waged work, they also have to handle the needs of their family members -- unpaid work that often takes up several more hours of their day. "In their dual roles of producer and reproducer, they (the women) become daily 'crisis managers,' stretching both the clock and their physical resources to superhuman limits to 'work more than ever with less than ever'" (Lopez 1993, 26). The double day phenomenon becomes even more significant when we consider that at least one-third of the poorest households in Latin America are headed by women. With no other adult present and able to assist with the household tasks, the burden of providing for the children or elderly parents is carried by the woman alone.

While many women are entering the formalized work force in large numbers (for example, the *maquiladora* industry on the border between Mexico and the US), many others enter the informal sector because less skill or training is required. Women's labor is often more desirable because they can be paid less; their lack of education, training, and the demands their family and household place on their time give employers several reasons to pay them less. Yet even when women are equally qualified, on a worldwide average they are paid nearly 40% less than men for the very same work (Cunningham and Reed 1995, 24). Because of prevailing patriarchal attitudes, women's work, no matter how skilled or productive, is highly undervalued.

Gender roles play an important part in sustaining the economic changes examined so far in this module. As low wages become the axis that sustains global manufacturing processes, women are increasingly targeted to do manufacturing work. "[T]he integration of developing countries into the global market has had a profound impact on women's labor force participation On average, the female labor force has been growing twice as fast as male labor. There has been a particularly rapid increase in women working in the export-oriented manufacturing sector, where the rate of growth of global industrial output has been the fastest" (Cunningham and Reed 1995, 24).

The widespread presence of women in informal work and the increasing need to augment household incomes makes women particularly susceptible to new trends in labor reorganization -- subcontracted **homework**. This type of work offers women the flexibility of working at home while watching children or maintaining the household. Subcontracted homework is often a part of industries such as garment sewing or electronic assembly where work is taken home and done "piecemeal." The worker is paid for every piece of clothing she/he can sew or each electronic component she/he can assemble. For women, this kind of work is convenient because they can earn money after the household responsibilities are taken care of (often at night) or with the help of extra family labor (e.g., children who can help with the sewing).

The research of Victoria Lawson (1995), who has done extensive interviews with Ecuadorian women in these work situations, provides an example of the convenience homework offers for women. She calls our attention to a 53 year-old woman named Fanny, an industrial homeworker who sews trousers for a factory. She is paid piece rates, receives no benefits or social security, and relies entirely on this one source of work. Fanny has been doing this kind of work for years. At first, it enabled her to stay home with her own children; now it helps her watch her grandchildren while her daughter works. She says of homeworking:

> In that time, I worked in my home while caring for my children, I never left them alone, I always worked in the home. This was my main reason for not working in a workshop or factory, yes, for my children, to not leave them alone. We did not have the possibilities that exist today. It's true that I am now caring for my grandchildren but at least I don't have to care for my own children. For me it was good to have work in my home in order to not have to leave. At least I was able to succeed in raising my children. And now, I sew at night when she [her daughter] comes and takes my grandchildren home, then its just the two of us [Fanny and her husband] and I can sit down peacefully to work (Lawson 1995, 433).

Fanny's comments illustrate how homeworking also reinforces **gender ideologies**, in other words, what is considered appropriate for women and men to do and to be. In Fanny's case, homeworking has helped her feel like a good mother who did not leave her children alone and was always there for them. Because in many countries the most important role for women is that of mother and caretaker, industrial homeworking allows women to work within this role while also making money. In many ways, the ability to blend the domestic and waged spheres becomes the primary attraction for women to become involved in homeworking.

There is, however, a downside to this flexibility and convenience. As noted earlier, because domestic work is viewed as women's responsibility, women often arrange their day to watch their children and accomplish household chores before beginning their paid work. Fanny describes her own double day

> It is a super long day. Last Friday my daughter Marta came by at 7:00 pm asking me to go with her to take her daughter to the clinic. I said fine, you have a car and I will go with you, I couldn't tell her no.... When [she] left here at 11:00pm that was when I sat down to sew. I had to because he [her boss] comes at nine in the morning to take the trousers and I had to have four pairs completed. I had only two pairs finished, one pair half done and one left to do. I have to have them finished because when he knocks on the door they must be ready, and so it was. I went to bed at 2:30am. Our schedule is typically until midnight or 1:00am because during the day I have to dedicate my time to other things. Realistically, it is at the time that they [her grandchildren] leave that I have time for myself and that is after 7:00pm. Because I have to look after the little creatures! It is very hard (Lawson 1995, 433).

Lawson (1995) notes that, "informalized manufacturing work means that while Fanny is, on the surface, self-employed with flexible and convenient work, in actuality her work is tightly controlled and must be completed on time. The trousers must be ready for pickup when the supplier arrives, he sets her work quota (four pairs per day, 20-25 pairs per week), the timing of her work, the quality (because he will not pay her if there are errors in her sewing), and the availability of the work itself." Thus, Fanny has little control over her work situation and must comply with the demands of her factory, since this is her only source of income. Fanny's story illustrates that although industrial homeworking offers some income and a measure of flexibility, it is by no means autonomous work; in fact, it exploits prevalent gender ideologies to justify paying people like Fanny a limited income.

The discussion of gender ideologies shows just one of the ways that debt, structural adjustment, and the trend toward free trade, flexibility, and greater global competitiveness have created social adjustments that affect families and households in concrete ways. While the discussion on the hardships of women within industrial work and within their own households is not meant to downplay those experienced by men, gender relations and women's experiences are highlighted because recently they have played a huge role in the success of the NIDL; as such, they are a vital part of the human dimensions of global change.

Conclusion

By looking at what city life has to offer recent in-migrants and poorer urban residents, we have revisited a common theme in this module -- the difficulty in drawing distinctions between the operations of geographic scales and the need to recognize the interconnections between them. This has been highlighted by our discussion of the linkages between national and individual poverty and the ways that both influence and are influenced by global processes. Structuring forces (e.g., the increasing integration of world trade and the neoliberal reworking of national economies) and their effects (e.g., the debt crisis, the decay of a productive rural life, and the inevitable move toward the city) influence the extent to which people are free to create their own economic and social spaces in this world, particularly in the face of the ever-important modern marketplace that seems to foreclose any individual choice (Roberts 1994, 7). In this unit, we have looked at examples of the constraints and hardships that the modern market produces for those living informally on the margins of the city, including tenuous environmental conditions, compromised health, and unstable, undercompensated employment.

The incredible resourcefulness of those affected by market reforms and the changing world economy is evident in our discussion of urban informality. We have highlighted not only the unfortunate, unequal, and exhausting experiences of lower-income inhabitants but also the opportunities the city offers and the close networks that are formed among people in order to foster daily survival. The coping strategies that we have been explored (i.e., the trash pickers of Cali, women's double-days, carving out niches of "undesirable" space for shelter) contradict the prevalent stereotypes that low-income urban dwellers cannot escape their impoverished conditions because of their own laziness and naivete. Explaining urban poverty by blaming the victim is erroneous; today the source of poverty can be found in the structural processes operating in the world. In the face of those processes, the urban poor display great initiative and resilience despite deteriorating economic conditions.

Viewing urban poverty in this manner helps us to see that, although the macroforces that we have detailed throughout this module are all-encompassing and constrain the choices individuals can make, individuals constantly work against these restraints in the attempt to adapt to ever-changing conditions. Perhaps they have taken their cue from the New World Order where flexibility is key. Or perhaps the New World Order can function as it does because of the flexible work forces in every country. Regardless of which is more true, people across the world are managing global change in various ways and with various effects. In Latin American urban locales, low-income workers are managing poverty while simultaneously participating in, affecting, and being influenced by global change -- a fascinating example of the interconnections among geographic scales, macroforces, and individual agency that has become part of our daily lives in the late twentieth century.

3

Life on the Edge: Informality in the Urban Setting

Instructor's Guide to Activities

Goal

The goals of the activities in Unit 3 are: (1) to explore the range of living conditions experienced by those living and working in Latin American cities including those in the informal sectors of the economy, (2) to question the societal values, political processes, and economic concerns that influence business ethics and concerns about the quality of life in Latin American cities, and (3) to foster a deeper understanding of the urban landscape including the processes, struggles, and life experiences that go into making up that landscape.

Learning Outcomes

After completing the activities in this module, students should:

✔ have a sense of the diversity of the urban experience;

✔ be able to outline the arguments behind free trade and global business ethics;

✔ have an awareness of the critical issues facing governmental officials in Latin American cities today and of the complexity and global linkages of these issues; and

✔ have developed an in-depth understanding of a particular Latin American city including the range of issues it faces, the quality of life of its citizens, and the role of the informal sector of the economy, the built environment, gender issues, and women's employment.

Choice of Activities

It is neither necessary nor feasible in most cases to complete all activities in each unit. Select those that are most appropriate for your classroom setting and that cover a range of activity types, skills, genres of reading materials, writing assignments, and other activity outcomes. This unit contains the following activities:

3.1 Personal Experiences of a Latin American City	-- creative writing
3.2 The Question of Ethics	-- role playing/ debate about business ethics, corporate responsibility, and free trade
3.3 Delegate to the World Cities Conference	-- role playing and creative writing
3.4 Visualizing Urban Landscapes II -- A Deeper Understanding	-- team work, library research, Internet searches, and poster presentation

Suggested Readings

The following readings accompany the activities for this unit. Choose those readings most appropriate for the activities you select and those most adequate for the skill level of your students.

- Unit 3: Life on the Edge -- Informality in the Urban Setting (provided)
  Background information for Unit 3; all students should read.
- Donaldson, Thomas. 1994. Global business must mind its morals. *The New York Times* (13 February): F11.
- Ballinger, Jeffrey. 1993. The new free-trade heel. In R. Jackson, ed. *Annual Editions: Global Issues 1993/94.* Guilford, CT: The Duskin Publishing Co., pp. 130-131. Published originally in *Harper's*, August 1992, pp. 46-47.
- La Botz, Dan. 1993. Manufacturing poverty: The maquiladorization of Mexico. *Multinational Monitor* (May): 18-23.
  The Donaldson, Ballinger, and La Botz articles provide background information for the debate and/or role playing exercise in Activity 3.2.
- *The Economist*. 1996. Cities: Fiction and fact. (8 June): 44-45.
  This article provides some basic information on the World Cities Conference for Activity 3.3.

Activity 3.1 Personal Experiences of a Latin American City

Goals

Students learn about life in Latin American cities through personal narratives.

Skills

- ✓ text comprehension and synthesis
- ✓ creative writing
- ✓ recognition of personal and societal values as information filters

Material Requirements

- *Supporting Material 3.1* (provided)
- additional narratives selected by the instructor (optional)

Time Requirements

one class period (50 minutes); allow 1-2 days before class for students to read the narratives and prepare their news report.

Tasks

In this activity, students use narratives of urban dwellers in Latin America to prepare a three-minute television news broadcast that portrays life in Latin American cities. Eight narratives are provided in *Supporting Material 3.1*. You may need to provide others or point students to additional sources. Narratives should represent people from various classes, people of various ages and ethnicity, migrants and long-settled urbanites, and positive and negative experiences.

Provide students with a copy of the narratives and tell them they are broadcast journalists. Ask them to use the selected personal accounts as interview sources and prepare a feature story, as part of a television newscast, on life in Latin American cities. Place a strict three-minute time limit on the report to encourage students to choose selectively among the various accounts, to confront the complexity and diversity of urban life, and to simplify and convey the necessary information. Students must include personal accounts in their reports to create a human interest factor for the viewers. Suggest other sources of information for them to consider in their report (i.e., other books, articles, narratives, or even the *Background Information* of the module).

During the next class period, divide the class into groups of five or six students. Each student should read her or his newscast aloud to the group. (You may want to suggest that one group member serve as a "time monitor" to insure that the reports fit the time limit.) Allow additional time for the group to discuss the presentations and consider how they differed. The group exchange and discussion allows students to explore the different ways that they made their selections from among the material. Some might portray the difficulties of urban life, some might present mainly positive aspects, some reports might have a theme, and others might try to create balance by presenting two extremes. Ask each group to consider how their personal values affected their presentation and to identify ways in which the information in the narratives were "filtered" into the newscast. Filters include such things as cultural differences, representations in the media, stereotypes, language differences, and life experiences, among others.

Following the presentations, open the discussion to the entire class. Ask each group to share briefly its thoughts about values and filters. Conclude the activity by discussing how people's values, acting as filters, affect our ability to form opinions and make decisions about people in the cities of Latin America.

Alternative
Rather than a television news report, you can ask students to prepare a newspaper article limited to less than two double-spaced pages. Remind students that this is a human interest piece for the general public.

Activity 3.2 The Question of Ethics

Goals

Students explore the process of urbanization and its effects on living standards in LDCs by debating the role of ethics in transnational corporations.

Skills

- ✓ text comprehension
- ✓ formulating a position based on ideas presented in an article
- ✓ group discussion (arguing, leading, note-taking, process evaluating)
- ✓ role playing
- ✓ effectively communicating ideas and arguments orally and in writing

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 3.2* (provided; needed for Option A and B)
- *Supporting Material 3.2* (provided; needed only for Option B)
- Suggested readings: Donaldson (1994); Ballinger (1993); and LaBotz (1993)

Time Requirements

One class period (50 minutes) for each option; allow additional time before class for students to read the suggested readings and to prepare for the activity.

Tasks

This activity is flexible and provides several options to choose from including a role-playing activity, a formal debate, or if time doesn't allow for either of these options, a 15-20 minute class discussion.

Ask students to read the suggested readings (Donaldson 1994; Ballinger 1993; LaBotz 1993) before class so that they have some time to think about ethics and business and can formulate their opinion on whether or not ethics can be imposed on global business. Students will write a short paragraph in response to the Donaldson reading based on the instructions in the student worksheet. They will also develop a list of the advantages and disadvantages to workers and corporations of a code of ethics. This short writing assignment prepares students for one of the options below.

Option A: Role play

The goal of this option is for students to convince a decision-making board to adopt or not adopt a code of conduct.

Divide the class into three groups. Two groups should consist of about 10-15 students, and a third group should have no more than five. Designate one of the large groups as representatives of an LDC government and designate the other large group as members of an LDC labor movement. The smaller group serves as the decision-making board made up of board members of an American corporation that operates *maquiladoras*.

Give each group about 15-20 minutes to outline how they will present their case (although it seems logical that the labor group will argue *for* adopting a code of ethics and the government representatives will argue *against* it, part of the fun and learning goal is seeing how students construct their positions and their arguments). Tell each group that they will each have five minutes to present their case to the board and suggest that they appoint a note-taker and a speaker(s). Make sure the labor movement group thinks about what their Code will entail, if indeed they are lobbying for one. Encourage students to be persuasive and creative in their presentation; they can make up an anecdotal story, or create vivid images for the board to think about in order to sway the board members to their side. More importantly, encourage them to "get into" their roles and make it realistic.

While the labor and government groups are discussing their positions, the corporate board members should think about what factors are important in their decision on the matter (i.e., profits, human rights, a good image, etc.).

Allow five minutes for each side to present its case to the board. Encourage board members to take notes during the presentations. After the groups have presented their cases, allow the board five minutes to debate among themselves and to ask the groups any additional questions they have or to negotiate with the groups certain aspects of the pending agreement (i.e., "if we do "x," can you guarantee us that you will ....?") Once the board feels it has sufficiently explored the issue, call for a vote of the board members on whether to adopt the Code. Once the votes are in, and if time allows, ask the board members to state the most important factors that swayed their vote.

Option B: A Formal Debate

The goal of this option is for students to debate the merits of imposing a standard or universal Code of Conduct on American foreign corporations.

Because students will have read the articles before class and will have already outlined the "pros" and "cons" of adopting a Code of Ethics, they should be ready to participate in this activity during class. You may want to hand out copies of *Supporting Material 3.2* with the readings so that students have a chance to look over the rules and think about the debate format in addition to reading the articles.

Divide the class into two groups (this can be done the night before so students have an idea of their "side" while doing the assignment or, if you want students to know both sides of the issue, divide them immediately before the debate in class). Give students about 20 minutes to discuss their position and arguments. Each group should assign a note-taker and a spokesperson(s). Make yourself available to the groups as they prepare for the debate. They may need help outlining their arguments, thinking of different "angles" to their argument, anticipating what the other side might say in response, or they may have logistical questions.

Next, give each side five minutes to make their opening statements (the "pro" side will go first). Remind the "con" side that they should not respond to the opening statement but rather highlight their argument. After the opening statements, allow five-ten minutes for each side to prepare a response to the other side's opening statement. Finally, ask each group to present its rebuttal (allow no more than five minutes for each group).

Following the rebuttal, open the class for discussion of the debate. Provide some initial feedback to each group on their performance.

Activity 3.3: Delegate to the World Cities Conference

Goals

Students understand the complex relationships among urbanization, economic development, and environmental and social impacts.

Skills

- ✔ critical text analysis
- ✔ role playing
- ✔ formulating a perspective/position
- ✔ creative writing
- ✔ class discussion
- ✔ evaluating classmates' written work

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 3.3* (provided)
- Suggested reading: *The Economist* (1996)

Time Requirements

10 minutes to introduce activity; 3-5 days outside of class for students to write their essays; one class period (50 minutes) for presentation and evaluation of essays

Tasks

Ask students to read the suggested article from *The Economist* (1996) and to note the role of Latin American cities in the World Cities Conference that was held in Istanbul, Turkey in 1996. After reading the article, students will role play the following scenario.

Each student will serve as the mayor of a Latin American city. You can allow each student to choose his or her city or you can assign students different cities. (If the students did the poster project in Activity 1.4, you may want to assign them to be the mayor of the particular city chosen for that activity.) The mayor has been invited to attend the 1996 World Cities Conference in Istanbul, Turkey. The mayors of the world's major cities will be in attendance. At the conference the mayor is warmly greeted by the Conference Chair and invited to dinner with the Conference organizers and representatives from major transnational industries interested in setting up investments in cities to support their corporate prosperity. After an expensive dinner sponsored by industry, the mayor is encouraged to take a leadership role at the Conference that starts in the morning. S/he can choose either to make a presentation as the new chair of an ad hoc committee setting policy on developing urban infrastructure or to give the luncheon keynote speech on "Cities Taking the Initiative on Environmental Leadership."

The mayor must make a decision about which opportunity to pursue and write a short presentation. In the presentation, the mayor will identify his/her position on developing urban infrastructure and the urban environment as well as specifying how industry can be involved in this plan. S/he should clarify how the socioeconomic and environmental conditions of his/her city influence the position taken in this presentation. The presentation should be no more than three pages long.

On the due date for the assignment, ask students to exchange papers with someone they don't know in the class. Give each student five to ten minutes to read his/her classmate's presentation. Then hold a 15-20 minute class discussion during which you pose a series of questions to the class about the positions taken in the presentations. Use the questions below as a guide:

- How many presentations focused on urban infrastructure? How many focused on environmental leadership? Do the presentations explain why this focus was chosen?
- What was the role of industry in the plan? Why? Is it realistic? What are the ethical dimensions of the position taken?
- How was the city represented? Was it an appropriate representation? Why or why not?
- How could the presentation be improved?

After the discussion give students about ten minutes to evaluate the presentation they read on a scale of one (low) to ten (high) and to provide written comments. You can decide whether you want the student reviewing the presentation to sign his or her name on the evaluation. Collect each written presentation and evaluation and use both in evaluating students' work.

Activity 3.4 Visualizing Urban Landscapes II: A Deeper Understanding

Goals

Students explore in-depth the problems facing a specific city in Latin America based on issues discussed in the background information of the module. Students recognize that although all places are inevitably affected by global change, these processes vary by place owing to historical, social, economic, and cultural configurations.

Skills

- ✔ presenting information graphically
- ✔ writing concisely
- ✔ designing a presentation for a wide audience
- ✔ team work
- ✔ library/Internet research

Material Requirements

- Suggested reading: Vujakovic (1995)
- Name-tags (for Part B only)
- A blue-ribbon/ button/or some kind of prize (optional; for Part B)

Time Requirements

Minimum of 2-3 weeks outside of class with additional time during class for groups to meet throughout the 2-3 week period; allow a minimum of one class period (50 minutes) for poster presentations.

Tasks

This activity is intended to build upon Activity 1.4 or to be combined with it as suggested in the *Instructor's Guide* for Activity 1.4. If students completed the posters in Activity 1.4, this activity will provide a nice comparison between the more superficial understanding of urbanization that students had at the beginning of the module and the deeper understanding of urban processes and the urban experience that they should now possess. The instructions for this activity resemble closely those for Activity 1.4

Part A: The Posters

Begin by allowing students to select the city they would like to research. Post a list of several cities (make sure they are prominent enough to have sufficient information on them in the library) and let students sign up for the city and group of their choice. North American cities can also be used for the purposes of North-South comparisons. (Students may choose to continue with the cities that they worked on in Activity 1.4.)

On the day that groups are chosen, provide a copy of the suggested reading on making posters (Vujakovic 1995) and suggest that students read it before they meet within groups. Encourage them to consider Vujakovic's thorough and insightful suggestions. Lastly, suggest that students assign tasks within their group based on their own skills and interests in order to complete their poster by the due date.

Students should be certain that at least three topics from the module text are evident on their posters. This could include the rural sector (what is grown, where it ends up, and who lives there), prominent industries, informal settlements or economy, "women's work," historical considerations (colonialism and how that affected the city's location), and/or other major issues facing cities today. The number of topics is up to you.

Give students an idea of how the posters will be graded. The following criteria are provided in the student worksheet and should be used to evaluate students' work:[5]

The poster must:
- have a title
- have a list of authors (students)
- include a map(s)
- have a clear theme that is obvious from the title
- make an impact
- be readable from a distance of one meter, have large print

The poster should have:
- a consistent color theme
- a contrast between background color and mounting color
- signals to lead you from one element to the next
- a consistent typeface and style

The poster might include:
- photos, graphs, or other figures

Students should use a variety of sources for their information including the library (books, magazines, newspapers), Internet resources, or meetings with "experts" (e.g., a professor at the university that specializes in the country or city). Remind students that the amount of information that can be displayed on the poster is limited by size/space considerations. The information they find doesn't need to be extensive, but should be concise enough for the audience to get a sense of what is happening in this city.

The groups will probably require some meeting time during class in order to touch base with each other and to keep everyone on track. However, from the start, let them know this project will require outside-class meeting time.

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[5] Adapted from Kneale, P. 1996. Organizing student-centered group fieldwork and presentations. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 20, 1 (1 March): 65-74 .

Part B: The Poster Symposium

A symposium is a great way for students to learn from each other's research and it gives them a chance to demonstrate what they've learned throughout the module. Furthermore, the goal of the activity will be reinforced by seeing the place-specific presentations of each group.

On the last day of class, or on the final day of working on this module, hold a "Poster Symposium" in which students display their posters around the room, answer questions, and point out interesting aspects to students and guests circulating around the room. If you think you will need more time than your class period allows, schedule a special time for the symposium. Invite other students, graduate students, and faculty in the department to attend.

During the symposium, suggest that students break into two teams of two to three people; one team will be "on-duty" at their poster while the other team members circulate around the room and look at the other posters. After 15-20 minutes, the teams can swap duties so that everyone gets a chance to stand at the poster and to see the others.

One way to get students to take their "circulating time" seriously is to set up a ballot box where students can vote for their favorite poster (excluding their own). The vote can be based solely on the overall effectiveness of the actual poster, or the way in which students handle questions. The group that "wins" gets a blue ribbon, special recognition, or extra-credit points (this would be particularly enticing!). See *Answers to Activities* for suggestions on evaluating students' work.

Lastly, after the symposium, consider displaying the posters in your department's display case, the university center, or the university library.

3 Life on the Edge: Informality in the Urban Setting

Student Worksheet 3.2

Activity 3.2 The Question of Ethics

In early 1995, coffee magnate Starbucks' Chairman Howard Shultz agreed, after months of pressure from human-rights activists, to adopt a "Code of Conduct" for the Guatemalan plantations where the corporation buys just under 2% of its coffee. Recognizing that Guatemalan coffee workers earn $2.50 a day (far less than the $7.25 a day that the Guatemalan government considers necessary to sustain a rural family of five), human rights activists hope that the Code of Conduct will help address this apparent inadequate wage situation, as well as the abusive working conditions and the right for laborers to organize unions. While the issue of how the Code will be enforced is still being debated, what is significant is that a large corporation, with over 500 stores in the US alone, would consider adopting such a code, one that has the potential to cut profits by fostering higher wages in a developing country.

Shultz's move may be a result of the growing debate over the moral responsibility of corporate America to those people who help maintain their business and who produce a certain standard of living for those in developed regions of the world. When we consider that so much of our food, clothing, and technological gadgets are relatively inexpensive because of low-production costs (via cheap wages) in less-developed areas of the world, the linkages between a certain level of exploitation in LDCs and the provision of consumer items in MDCs becomes all the more clear.

Accordingly, in recent years there has been a growing attempt to understand the shifts in the global economy and to debate the ethics of global business and its effects on different regions and on different social groups. For example, the Rio Declaration on the Environment and Development (1992) explicitly addressed what Cutter (1995) calls "equity principles," including Principle Five which states an objective of decreasing "the disparities in standards of living and better meeting the needs of the majority of the people of the world." Donaldson (1994) picks up on these concerns as he argues for an across-the-board adoption of ethical principles to be applied to all countries in order to address wage abuses and environmental responsibility.

In preparation for an in-class activity, read carefully the articles provided by your instructor. In a paragraph (four to six sentences), explain whether you agree or not with opinions in the article by Donaldson (1994). Indicate who will be helped or hurt most by his suggestions and whether there are any aspects to his argument that you think are problematic. After you've finished the paragraph, write down at least one advantage and one disadvantage for LDC workers if a universal code were adopted. Also list at least one advantage and one disadvantage for an American corporation. These "pros and cons" are *your own opinion* and might require you to make some guesses! Use the space below for your paragraph and list. (Use an additional sheet of paper if necessary.)

Student Worksheet 3.3

Activity 3.3 Delegate to the World Cities Conference

You are the mayor of a Latin American city. (You will either select a city or your instructor will assign one to you.) As the mayor, you have been invited to attend the 1996 World Cities Conference in Istanbul, Turkey. The mayors of all of the world's major cities will be in attendance.

At the conference you are greeted by the Conference Chair and invited to dinner with the Conference organizers and representatives from major transnational industries interested in setting up investments in cities to support their corporate prosperity. After an expensive dinner sponsored by industry, you are encouraged to take a leadership role at the Conference that starts in the morning. You can choose either to make a presentation as the new chair of an ad hoc committee setting policy on developing urban infrastructure or to give the luncheon keynote speech on "Cities Taking the Initiative on Environmental Leadership."

You must decide which opportunity to pursue and write a short presentation of no more than three, double-spaced pages. In the presentation, you should identify your position on developing urban infrastructure and/or improving or protecting the urban environment, and you should indicate how industry is involved in your plans. Be sure to note how socioeconomic and environmental conditions of your city influence the position you take in your presentation. You can use any sources you wish to help you prepare the presentation, including the readings suggested by your instructor, Internet searches, or library work.

In class, you will exchange your presentation with a classmate and you will read and evaluate each others' work. You will also take part in a class discussion about the presentations.

3 Life on the Edge: Informality in the Urban Setting

Answers to Activities

Activity 3.1 Personal Experiences of a Latin American City

This activity is primarily a group and class discussion. Students also prepare a short written news report that you may or may not wish to collect and evaluate. If you choose to grade the reports, use the general criteria listed below as a guide for evaluating their work. Students' news reports will vary depending on the narrative they choose to focus on, the particular perspective they adopt, and the additional sources they use for information.

- Is the report concise and does it fit within the three-minute time limit?
- Does the report contain references to the "human" experiences provided by the narratives?
- Has the student done additional research to support his or her story?
- Is the report well-written?

Activity 3.2 The Question of Ethics

In response to the readings, students are asked to (1) write a paragraph commenting on the reading and (2) make a list of some advantages and disadvantages to workers and corporations of adopting a code of ethics. This written work is intended to help students prepare for the debate or role play. You may or may not want to collect it for evaluation. The responses students prepare will most likely show up during the role play or the debate and may include the following:

- In response to the Donaldson article, students should be able to identify several problems with his argument, including issues of enforcement (would the corporation be willing to pull out of a country or impose fines if standards were infringed upon?) and the ways in which moral standards would be decided.

Advantages for workers
- better wages and working conditions
- better housing and residential infrastructure
- the right to unionize
- more dignity

Disadvantages for workers
- violations of cultural beliefs and norms

Advantages for corporations
- better worker morale
- less turnover
- more productive work force

Disadvantages for corporations
- a cut into profits
- the threat of strikes
- enforcement

You can also mention that higher wages in the LDCs could benefit workers in MDCs insofar as they could worry less about their jobs being exported to areas with lower wages.

For both the role play and the debate, there are no specific answers. You should facilitate when necessary to keep the discussion flowing smoothly and to give each student or group a chance to speak. Make sure that students respect each other's viewpoints, do not interrupt when others are talking, and allow other students an opportunity to speak.

Activity 3.3: Delegate to the World Cities Conference

Because this is a creative writing activity, there are no specific answers. Student presentations will vary depending on the city they choose to represent, the presentation option they select, and the perspective they adopt. As part of the activity, students' presentations will be evaluated by other students in the class. Use these evaluations and the criteria below as a guide for evaluating students' work.
- Does the presentation indicate that the student did sufficient research on the chosen city?
- Is the student's (mayor's) position clearly stated and supported?
- Does the student indicate how the socioeconomic and environmental conditions of the city influence the position he/she took in the presentation?
- Are the plans for urban development, industrial cooperation, and the urban environment realistic and balanced?
- Is the presentation well-written, concise, and less than three pages long?

See *Notes on Active Pedagogy* for additional suggestions for evaluating students' written work.

Activity 3.4 Visualizing Urban Landscapes II: A Deeper Understanding

Student posters will vary depending on the city chosen, the time constraints, access to information, and the number of students in the groups. In group projects of this kind, it is possible that several students will complete a disproportionate share of the work for the entire group. One way to account for these inequities is to assess students' participation by asking each group member to evaluate her or his own contribution to the project as well as the contribution of each of their team members. Let students know that the evaluations will be confidential and that their final grade will be based upon their own evaluation, their evaluation by other team members, and your assessment of the final product during the poster symposium.

For additional information on evaluating this type of on-going group work, see *Notes on Active Pedagogy* or the source below:

Kneale, Pauline. 1996. Organizing student-centered group fieldwork and presentations. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 20, 1 (March): 65-74.

Glossary

Note: Terms that appear in bold face in the right-hand column are defined elsewhere in the glossary.

agribusiness	agricultural production that encompasses mechanization, massive redistribution in the agricultural work force, specialization according to locality and within the production process (arable crops, breeding, livestock fattening), a technical revolution through the use of industrial inputs (fertilizers, pesticides, herbicides), the use of genetically improved seeds so that crops can withstand greater environmental stress like dry climates and can grow more quickly and with more durability, and the intensification of livestock production (poultry, pigs, and cattle) on the basis of industrially-processed feed (cereals and soybeans). Agribusinesses have their roots in the **plantation system**.
barrio	a spanish term for informal settlements.
commodification	process by which an object comes to be seen as something that can be bought or sold.
debt service	the amount of interest owed on a loan.
double day	the blending of the domestic sphere with the waged one. For example, although a woman might work outside home or engage in subcontracted **homework**, she still faces many daily chores and responsibilities within her household.
emigrant	an individual who moves *from* his/her own home community to settle in another.
emigration	**migration** *from* a location.
free market economics	a perspective in economic theory that holds that the market can function most efficiently in the absence of governmental regulation or other forms of intervention.
gender ideology	a socially constructed set of norms in a particular cultural context and place that defines femininity, masculinity, and the domestic and productive work carried out by women and men. Custom and/or tradition are often invoked to explain behaviors, responsibilities, and norms for women and men in particular social (and historical) settings

	(i.e., women as caretakers and men as breadwinners); these customs and traditions attribute power differently to women and men and create a hierarchy of access to economic and social power.
GDP	Gross Domestic Product; a monetary measure of the value (at market prices) of goods and services for final use produced within a national economy over a given time period, usually a year or a quarter.
GNP	Gross National Product; a monetary measure of the value (at market prices) of the goods and services produced within a national economy (or the **GDP**), plus net income from abroad, over a given time period, usually a year or a quarter.
homework	a paid productive activity carried out at home largely, but not exclusively, by women. Homework is popular with employers in some industries because workers have little contact with one another thereby preventing workers from organizing to protest working conditions or to demand higher wages.
immigrant	an individual who moves *to* a new location to live outside his/her community of origin.
immigration	**migration** *to* a new location.
International Monetary Fund (IMF)	an agency of the United Nations founded in 1945 to promote monetary cooperation, currency stabilization, and trade expansion.
migration	the long-term relocation of an individual, household, or group to a new location outside the community of origin.
neoliberalism	see **free market economics**.
patriarchy	a situation defined by the privileging of men (and masculinity) over women (and femininity).
plantation system	an agricultural system involving enclave economies and monocropping for export that grew in importance during the post-independence period in Latin America (nineteenth century). Production was capital intensive, requiring more "inputs" (i.e., fertilizers and mechanized farm equipment) than subsistence farming and was financed by Europeans for profit. This pattern of production oriented countries toward agricultural production for export and facilitated the growth of **agribusiness** during the twentieth century.

political economic perspective	an approach to understanding the world that views the political and the economic spheres as inextricably connected; focuses on the processes of production, accumulation, and distribution (economics) and the opportunities and constraints these processes present for the behavior and decision making of different groups of individuals (political).
primate cities	cities that contain a majority of a country's population.
pull factors	conditions that attract people to new locations from other places.
push factors	conditions in a given place perceived by people to be detrimental to their well-being or economic security and that induce them to leave their homes or migrate.
structural adjustment	a process aimed at restructuring a nation's economy, increasing its trade linkages, and altering government spending; see **structural adjustment programs**.
structural adjustment programs (SAPs)	programs initiated by the World Bank and the IMF during the debt crisis of the 1980s to provide loans to countries to help them meet their **debt service** with the condition that they implement **structural adjustments**; SAPs generally included cutbacks on government spending, cutbacks in wages, privatization of state enterprises, deregulation of the economy and other **structural adjustments**.
structural forces	broad social, political, and/or economic processes that are beyond an individual's direct control and that present opportunities for and constraints on individual behavior and decisions.
subcontracting	a corporate strategy that moves production of certain parts/components off factory premises and outside of formal employment (i.e., to smaller production facilities or to individuals' homes and/or small storefronts). Subcontracting offers corporations wage savings and flexibility in an increasingly competitive world trade market, but it also places workers outside of state protection and state regulation without guaranteed working condition or guaranteed wages.
urban primacy	the demographic, economic, social, and political dominance of one city over all others within an urban system.

urban sprawl	low- density development of new areas of housing, employment, retail facilities, or other urban structures on the fringe of existing developed areas.
urbanization	transformation of an area from a rural/agrarian system to an urban/industrial system; involves population growth in cities and related economic, social, and political changes.

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Supporting Materials

The materials in this section support the background information and the student activities. Each *Supporting Material* is numbered according to the section or activity in which it may be used. For example, *Supporting Material 1.1* accompanies *Activity 1.1*. Materials that are intended to support the *Background Information* in the module, such as overhead originals or other documents, are numbered according to the Unit. For example, *Supporting Material 3* accompanies the *Background Information* for Unit 3.

The 15 Largest Urban Agglomerations Ranked by Population Size 1950-2015 (In Millions)

A. 1950

Rank	Agglomeration and Country	Population
1.	New York, United States of America	12.3
2.	London, United Kingdom	8.7
3.	Tokyo, Japan	6.9
4.	Paris, France	5.4
5.	Moscow, Russian Federation	5.4
6.	Shanghai, China	5.3
7.	Essen, Germany	5.3
8.	Buenos Aires, Argentina	5.0
9.	Chicago, United States of America	4.9
10.	Calcutta, India	4.4
11.	Osaka, Japan	4.1
12.	Los Angeles, United States of America	4.0
13.	Beijing, China	3.9
14.	Milan, Italy	3.6
15.	Berlin, Germany	3.3

B. 1960

Rank	Agglomeration and Country	Population
1.	New York, United States of America	14.2
2.	Tokyo, Japan	11.0
3.	London, United Kingdom	9.1
4.	Shanghai, China	8.8
5.	Paris, France	7.2
6.	Buenos Aires, Argentina	6.8
7.	Los Angeles, United States of America	6.5
8.	Essen, Germany	6.4
9.	Beijing, China	6.3
10.	Osaka, Japan	6.2
11.	Moscow, Russian Federation	6.2
12.	Chicago, United States of America	6.0
13.	Calcutta, India	5.5
14.	Mexico City, Mexico	5.4
15.	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	4.9

C. 1970

Rank	Agglomeration and Country	Population
1.	Tokyo, Japan	16.5
2.	New York, United States of America	16.2
3.	Shanghai, China	11.2
4.	Osaka, Japan	9.4
5.	Mexico City, Mexico	9.1
6.	London, United Kingdom	8.6
7.	Paris, France	8.5
8.	Buenos, Aires, Argentina	8.4
9.	Los Angeles, United States of America	8.4
10.	Beijing, China	8.1
11.	Sao Paulo, Brazil	8.1
12.	Moscow, Russian Federation	7.1
13.	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	7.0
14.	Calcutta, India	6.9
15	Chicago, United States of America	6.7

D. 1980

Rank	Agglomeration and Country	Population
1.	Tokyo, Japan	21.9
2	New York, United States of America	15.6
3.	Mexico City, Mexico	13.9
4.	Sao Paulo, Brazil	12.1
5.	Shanghai, China	11.7
6.	Osaka, Japan	10.0
7.	Buenos Aires, Argentina	9.9
8.	Los Angeles, United States of America	9.5
9.	Calcutta, India	9.0
10.	Beijing, China	9.0
11.	Paris, France	8.9
12.	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	8.8
13.	Seoul, Republic of Korea	8.3
14.	Moscow, Russian Federation	8.1
15.	Bombay, India	8.1

E. 1994

1.	Tokyo, Japan	26.5
2.	New York, United States of America	16.3
3.	Sao Paulo, Brazil	16.1
4.	Mexico City, Mexico	15.5
5.	Shanghai, China	14.7
6.	Bombay, India	14.5
7.	Los Angeles, United States of America	12.2
8.	Beijing, China	12.0
9.	Calcutta, India	11.5
10.	Seoul, Republic of Korea	11.5
11.	Jakarta, Indonesia	11.0
12.	Buenos Aires, Argentina	10.9
13.	Osaka, Japan	10.6
14.	Tianjin, China	10.4
15.	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	9.8

F. 2000

1.	Tokyo, Japan	27.9
2.	Bombay, India	18.1
3.	Sao Paulo, Brazil	17.8
4.	Shanghai, China	17.2
5.	New York, United States of America	16.6
6.	Mexico City, Mexico	16.4
7.	Beijing, China	14.2
8.	Jakarta, Indonesia	14.1
9.	Lagos, Nigeria	13.5
10.	Los Angeles, United States of America	13.1
11.	Calcutta, India	12.7
12.	Tianjin, China	12.4
13.	Seoul, Republic of Korea	12.3
14.	Karachi, Pakistan	12.1
15.	Delhi, India	11.7

G. 2010

1.	Tokyo, Japan	28.7
2.	Bombay, India	24.3
3.	Shanghai, China	21.5
4.	Lagos, Nigeria	20.8
5.	Sao Paulo, Brazil	20.1
6.	Jakarta, Indonesia	19.2
7.	Mexico City, Mexico	18.2
8.	Beijing, China	17.8
9.	Karachi, Pakistan	17.6
10.	New York, United States of America	17.3
11.	Dhaka, Bangladesh	16.0
12.	Calcutta, India	15.6
13.	Tianjin, China	15.6
14.	Delhi, India	15.5
15.	Los Angeles, United States of America	14.0

H. 2015

1.	Tokyo, Japan	28.7
2.	Bombay, India	27.4
3.	Lagos, Nigeria	24.4
4.	Shanghai, China	23.4
5.	Jakarta, Indonesia	21.2
6.	Sao Paulo, Brazil	20.8
7.	Karachi, Pakistan	20.6
8.	Beijing, China	19.4
9.	Dhaka, Bangladesh	19.0
10.	Mexico City, Mexico	18.8
11.	New York, United States of America	17.6
12.	Calcutta, India	17.6
13.	Delhi, India	17.6
14.	Tianjin, China	14.7
15.	Metro Manila, Philippines	14.7

Source: United Nations. 1995. *World Urbanization Prospects. The 1994 Revision- Estimates and Projections of Urban and Rural Populations and of Urban Agglomerations*. New York, NY: United Nations, pp. 4-5. Reprinted with the permission of the United Nations Department of Public Information.

World Map

Number of Megacities in Selected Years

Region	1970	1994	2000	2015
World	**11**	**22**	**25**	**33**
Less Developed Regions	**5**	**16**	**19**	**27**
Africa	0	2	2	3
Asia	2	10	12	19
Latin America	3	4	5	5
More Developed Regions	**6**	**6**	**6**	**6**
Europe	2	2	2	2
Japan	2	2	2	2
North America	2	2	2	2

Source: United Nations. 1995. *World Urbanization Prospects. The 1994 Revision- Estimates and Projections of Urban and Rural Populations and of Urban Agglomerations*. New York, NY: United Nations, pp. 4-5. Reprinted with the permission of the United Nations Department of of Public Information.

Spanish Glossary of Geographical Terms

Spanish	English
ciudad	city
ferrocarril	railroad
autopista	highway
centro de negocios	central business district (CBD)
plaza	town square
parque	park
edificio(s)	building(s)
aeropuerto	airport
centro historico	historical center
zonas industriales	industrial zones
suburbios	suburbs
museo	museum
barrios, favelas, pueblos jovenes	shanty towns/informal settlements
zona comercial	shopping/retail
puerto comercial	commercial port
mercado	market
rio	river
montañas	mountains
playa	beach
area residencial	residential area

Landscapes of Megacites in the South

The following material, adapted from Angotti (1995), provides some background information on the landscapes of modern megacities in the South. Angotti suggests that although there is a common perception that LDC cities are unmanageable and unplanned, there has been considerable planning by both government agencies and the private sectors:

- During the colonial times, cities were planned to benefit the wealthy and powerful colonists. A central plaza was built as the symbol of political and economic power. Representatives of the Crown, the Church, and civil authorities were located around its perimeter (Mexico City's *Zocalo* and Cathedral are great examples). Urbanization by other colonists near the plaza was regulated, but areas occupied by the indigenous masses were unaffected by any formal planning and were subsequently left on their own and often neglected.

- By the twentieth century, imitation of North American cities had the greatest impact on the appearance of cities. City planning and a capitalist approach to real estate development drove the changes in at least three ways: (1) the high cost of land in the CBD and renewal/modernization efforts helped create monumental business districts; (2) only the wealthy could afford residental enclaves near the CBD; and (3) the poor continued to live in neighborhoods with unplanned streets, and no potable water, sewage, etc.

- Thus *despite* planning, and perhaps even *because* of it, inequalities were reinforced. Cities planned in the image of the North often lack the resources and unique conditions of the North. As a result, cities have grown unevenly. As a result of "planning," for example, many poor slum dwellers face displacement from eviction campaigns led by land developers wanting to build luxury condos, offices, and stores for professionals. Entire neighborhoods are often uprooted, resulting in sprawling development as the displaced look for new homes.

- Following the lead of North America, many Latin American cities destroyed their trolley lines to make more room for cars, trucks, and buses. This has created congestion and long commutes for dwellers in the periphery. As cars are embraced as a symbol of progress and modernity, LDC cites see the effects of automobile-based sprawl.

- As reliance on cars increases, air pollution caused by emissions from cars also rises. Mexico City is notorious for its air pollution; its levels of carbon monoxide far exceed those in New York City or Los Angeles. Furthermore "according to environmentalists, every child born in Santiago de Chile breathes the equivalent of seven cigarettes daily, and one out of every four children suffers from some form of bronchitis" (Galeano 1995, 26).

- Finally, private investment is often attracted to Latin American cities by incentives such as low taxes and relaxed (or non-existent) environmental standards, but the environment often suffers as the soils, rivers, and air in these cities are contaminated by industrial pollution.

Native Struggles: Suggested Resources

Indigenous groups involved in struggles (among many others)

- Yanomami Indians - Brazil and Argentina
- Chumash Indians - Malibu, CA, USA
- Sokagon (Chippewa) Indians - Wisconsin, USA
- Cofan Indians - Ecuador
- Mayan Indians - Mexico, Guatemala
- Kayapo Indians - Brazil
- Creek Indians - Oklahoma, USA
- Nisca First Nation - British Columbia, Canada
- Cree First Nation - Quebec, Canada
- Gitsan and Wet'su'wetan First Nation - British Columbia, Canada
- Innu First Nation - Goose Bay, Labrador, Canada
- Sioux Indians - South Dakota, USA
- Miskito Indians - Nicaragua

Resources

- *Savages: the Life and Killing of the Yanomami*. Dennison Berwick, 1992
- *The Fate of the Forest*: developers, destroyers and defenders of the Amazon by Susanna Hecht and Alexander Cockburn, 1989.
- Dances with Garbage: Reservations as toxic dumping grounds. *Newsweek*, 4/29, 1991: 36.
- Randy Borman: Cofan Chief. *Earth Island Journal*, Summer 1994: 38-39.
- Summer 1994 issue of *Cultural Survival Quarterly*: entire issue devoted to native struggles and several articles highlighting the issues behind the Zapatista uprising
- Concerned about pollution from proposed mine, Wisconsin Tribe takes on a giant. *The New York Times*, December 12, 1994: A12.
- Reclaiming the ancient lands of the "Old Ones" (Oregon tribes battling the national forest service); *Christian Science Monitor*, June 14, 1994: 10.
- Clash of cultures is making waves in idyllic Malibu; *The Washington Post*, December 5, 1995: A3.
- A man who would save the world (Kayapo struggle in Brazil); *Parade Magazine*, April 12, 1992: 4-7.
- How gold led Indian tribe astray (Kayapo Indians); *The Seattle Times* August 29, 1995: A6.
- Too long, too silent: the threat to Cedar and the sacred ways of the Skokomish (effects of logging in Washington state); *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 17(3), Summer 1993: 53.
- Comeback in Indian country: some tribes are fighting free of the welfare culture imposed by Washington. *Readers Digest*, 135 (810), October 1989: 29.
- Sacred geographies: Indian country, where time, land, tradition and law are joined - or should be (includes information on controversy over protection of the spotted owl); *Wilderness*, 58(206), Fall, 1994: 10.

Personal Experiences of a Latin American City: Narratives

(1) About three decades ago, millions of Mexican Indians began fleeing the poverty of Oaxaca, Chiapas, and other poor states for the evanescent promise of wealth in Mexico City, their new Zion. They fled primitive housing, malnutrition, alcoholism, robbery, rape, incest, and illiteracy. But most of all, they fled unemployment. Those with friends or family often lived temporarily on the roofs of one-room shacks of those who had come before them. They used sheets of plastic to shield themselves from the high-plateau rains and the chilling dew of daybreak. The newcomers begged, borrowed and scrimped to get cinder blocks or flattened oil drums to construct their new dwellings. In the beginning they often lived for months with only two or three walls and little that could be called a roof.

(2) From the day Adelaida came to the Valley of Mexico in 1980, she has taken whatever work she could get. She has been a door-to-door laundress. She has hauled cement bags at construction sites. But most of all she has been a maid. Maids are at the lowest rung of the social and economic ladder of Mexican society. Maids are paid very little -- typically the minimum wage of about three dollars a day (US equivalent). With only two years of grammar school, Adelaida didn't know much about inflation. She just knew her wages weren't going as far. She knew she and Felix, her husband, could only afford to buy meat once a week for their children, less than they once could. With little money for any kind of fun, Christmas was rarely a special event. "They'd ask for a doll or a bicycle, but I couldn't buy anything. I had some money for Christmas last year. But there was an accident in the family. I had to spend it on that. The children cried.

(3) Sometimes Ana Serratos pauses outside a McDonald's restaurant here, but she resists the temptation to stop in. Fast food is way beyond her means. A Big Mac, medium Coke and fries cost $3.05, and for Ms. Serratos, who earns 35 cents an hour wrapping tape around bundles of electrical wires in one of Juarez assembly plants, that is a full day's wages. "What people in your country make in an hour, I work a whole day for," Ms Serratos said to an American visitor. "These companies from the United States and Japan don't pay people what they ought to. They come to kill us with work." Then she pauses, reflecting, "But we have to recognize that they're important for Juarez."

(4) I am 35 years old and have three children. I began working as a prostitute when I was a secretary in the social welfare office. At that time I was in financial straits because one of my children was ill. I worked over twelve hours a day in the office and also had to satisfy my boss's sexual desires just to keep my job. I soon realized that I could earn considerable more money as a prostitute.

(5) We, too, are Mexico, and we are not modern. We are illiterate, we have no electricity, no running water, our homes have dirt floors, two-thirds of our children do not have schools; we have the highest tuberculosis rate in the nation, and half of our population does not speak Spanish.

(6) Enrique grew up on the mean streets of Mexico City, the product of a broken home. His father ran out on his mother, an all-too-common fate of poor Mexican children. To help his mother make ends meet, Enrique sold gum and gelatin at street corners to passing motorists. Pressure for money was so great at one point that he agreed to be a runner for local marijuana dealers who used children to fool the police. That might have led him down the wrong path, as it did some of his pals. But a mother's determination helped Enrique escape the streets and make it through college. In fact, he did even better. In a country where the average person never gets beyond the sixth grade, Enrique became a doctor.

(7) The only relatives I knew were my papa's sister Juana and my mama's sister Catarina. They lived a few blocks away. My Aunt Catarina was married to Juana's son, who was my papa's nephew. He was a porter who carried heavy loads on his back. He was tall and strong, but the work finally killed him.

My life was very sad. My clothes were made from little pieces of scrap cloth, and we used felt slippers instead of shoes. We never heard music in our house, nor did we dance. As for fiestas or the Christmas posadas, we only watched them from the roof. And it wasn't until we came to Mexico City that we learned about receiving gifts on the Day of the Kings.

She (my mom) and papa didn't send me to school because I was the only girl who could help at home. That's why I am no better than a donkey, because I can't read.

(8) Agustin Gomez, the father, came from a better-to-do peasant family of Azteca village, which he and his wife left seventeen years ago in an effort to improve their lot. They are now a hard-pressed working class family living in a crowded one-room apartment in a vecindad (neighborhood) which I call the Casa Grande.

The Gomez family prefers city to village life and has made a good adjustment to the vecindad. It shows relatively little of the disorganization and breakdown which is so often associated with the urbanization process and has remained stable despite some internal conflict. The working children contribute to the support of the family and religious participation has become more important. The family maintains its ties with relatives in their village and preserves many village beliefs and customs. There also have been some striking changes in family life, however, namely: displacement of the father by the mother as the dominant figure in the family; increased freedom for the children; a steadily rising standard of living on the basis of installment buying; a higher aspiration level; added leisure, and greater opportunities for diversion; broader social contacts; and a gradual modernization of many beliefs.

Sources of the Narratives:

Excepts # 1, 2, and 6:
Oster, Patrick. 1990. *The Mexicans. A personal portrait of the people*. New York, NY: Harper & Row Publishers, pp. 21-35, 70.

Excerpt #3:
Dillon, Sam. 1995. At US door, huddled masses yearn for better pay. *The New York Times International*. (4 December).

Excerpt #4:
Colimoro, Claudia. 1994. A prostitute's election campaign. In G. Kuppers, ed. *Campaneras: Voices from the Latin American women's movement*. London: Latin America Bureau, p. 92.

Excerpt #5:
Poniatowska, Elena. 1995. Women, Mexico, and Chiapas. In Elaine Katzenberger, ed. *First World Ha Ha Ha! The Zapatista Challenge*. San Francisco, CA: San Francisco, pp. 103..

Excerpt #7:
Lewis, Oscar. 1969. *A death in the Sanchez family*. New York, NY: Random House, pp. xi-xiii.

Excerpt #8:
Lewis, Oscar. 1959. *Five families*. New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc., pp 12-14.

The Question of Ethics: A Formal Debate

In class, you will take part in a formal debate on whether or not American foreign corporations should be forced to adopt a Code of Ethics that will address the wages of foreign workers and the working conditions in factories, on farms, or on plantations. The debate will be based on the following statement and will follow the format listed below.

RESOLVED: US corporations should adopt a standardized Code of Ethics in their business practices abroad.

1. The class will be divided into two groups, one group arguing for the Code of Ethics and the other arguing against. You may not know until the debate which side you will be on, so be prepared to take either side.

2. Each group will be given 15-20 minutes to prepare its argument and to select a spokesperson(s) and a note taker. All members of the group should help write the opening statement, outlining the main points of your argument.

3. Each group will be given five minutes to make its opening statement. The "pro" side will go first. The "con" side should remember that its opening statement should highlight its argument and should not respond to the opening statement made by the Pro group: there will be time for that later. Do keep in mind, however, that since you will have a chance to dispute what the other side has said (this is called a "rebuttal"), one or two appointed people from each group should take notes during the other side's opening statement.

4. After the opening statements, each group will have five to ten minutes to prepare a response to the other side's opening statement. Select another spokesperson to present the rebuttal.

5. Each side will have three or four minutes to present its rebuttal. The "con" side will go first.

6. Following the rebuttals the floor will be open for general discussion/comments.

*** Please remember to respect your classmates and their views! ***

Appendix: Suggested Readings

The AAG was able to obtain reprint permission from the original publishers for only one of the readings suggested in the activities of this module. To avoid copyright problems, we suggest you make this reading available to your students by putting it on reserve. The following reading is enclosed:

- Defreitas, Gregory. 1994. Fear of foreigners: Immigrants as scapegoats for domestic woes. *Dollars and Sense* (January/February): 8-9, 33-35. Reprinted with permission of Dollars and Sense, Somerville, MA.

FEAR OF FOREIGNERS

continued from page 9

gration on either the wages or employment of native low-skilled workers.

Moreover, other studies show that average skill levels have risen for immigrants from most countries, so that many of them are competing for high- rather than low-skill jobs. This has taken place at the same time that the immigrant share from less-developed countries has grown. A preliminary Census Bureau analysis of 1990 survey data shows that 24% of migrant adults arriving in the 1980s had a college degree, compared with 19% of earlier migrants and 20% of American adults in general.

As with the less-skilled, researchers have found that skilled natives have not lost their jobs or faced lower wages due to recent immigration. In fact, the only group which may experience adverse effects is the older immigrant population: Some studies suggest a degree of job competition between earlier and recent arrivals.

New immigrants have not worsened the lot of the native born because their arrival has increased not only the supply of workers, but also domestic job growth. Immigrants have above-average self-employment rates, and the new businesses they create mean new jobs, tax revenue, and often new life for marginal and declining urban areas. In addition, they spend their earnings on local consumer goods, cars, and houses, generating multiplier effects that spur more labor demand. And many fill the harshest, low-wage jobs spurned by natives, instead of competing for similar work.

TAXES AND BENEFITS

Do immigrants overuse welfare and other social programs and underpay taxes? Two recent, much-publicized reports claim that they do. A 1992 Los Angeles County study alleged that immigrants cost the county $947 million in social services in 1991, but paid county taxes of only $139 million. Another study by Donald Huddle extrapolated from the Los Angeles report to conclude that, nationally, immigrants drained the public treasury of $45 billion.

Subsequent research by Jeffrey Passel and Rebecca Clark of the Urban Institute has shown that the Los Angeles figures overestimated immigrant social service costs by one-third and underestimated their taxes by nearly one-half. Moreover, the Los Angeles report itself estimated that the total taxes (local, state, and federal) paid by these immigrants exceed their total social service costs by $1.8 billion. The discrepancy emerged because most tax revenue flows to Washington, while many of the program costs are borne locally.

Most research has found that immigrants are overwhelmingly drawn by the hope of better jobs, not by U.S. benefits programs. When job prospects dim, many (especially Mexicans) return home.

For refugees without that option, such as the Vietnamese, program usage is more common, at least during the

Immigration Policy, continued from page 9

President Carter admitted 125,000 in the Mariel boatlift from Cuba), far more than 50,000 have entered each year. The number seeking asylum in the law's first year was 5 times the expected number and has risen to over 100,000 per year. Applicants are routinely allowed to live and work in the country for years until a hearing is scheduled.

1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA)

- Penalized employers knowingly hiring illegal immigrants with fines and possible imprisonment.
- Amnesty offered to most resident undocumented aliens, granting legal status to those who had been in the U.S. since January 1982 or those who had done U.S. farm work for at least 3 months in 1985-86.

RESULTS: A total of 2.65 million undocumented aliens were granted legal immigrant status through 1992. The spread of inexpensive fraudulent documents and weak INS enforcement have rendered the employer sanctions ineffective.

1990 Immigration Act

- Increased the number of immigrants admitted each year to at least 675,000. This was designed as a "flexible ceiling" which could be exceeded in years when more visas for immediate relatives of citizens are deemed necessary, while still allowing no fewer than 226,000 places for other kinds of family migrants.
- Family-based claims again allocated most visas, but the number for employment-based applicants was doubled.
- Allowed refugees and asylum-seekers to be admitted outside the "flexible ceiling" limits. Doubled the annual number of asylees eligible for green cards. Created a new "temporary protected status" for Salvadorans and certain others seeking short-term haven from wars or natural disasters.

RESULTS: Over 758,000 were admitted in 1992, of whom 62% qualified based on family relationships. An additional 216,000 slots went to aliens amnestied under the 1986 law and their dependents. Over 188,000 Salvadorans applied for the new temporary protected status.

resettlement period. Undocumented aliens are legally barred from most such programs, and seem to largely avoid contact with government agencies out of fear of detection.

Many legal immigrants also think twice about seeking government benefits, since a record of welfare usage can increase their risk of deportation and decrease their ability to sponsor the entry of other relatives. Moreover, since immigrants tend to arrive at young ages, they have less need for many services than do natives, especially the growing number of elderly citizens.

Rapid influxes of immigrants to particular local areas do impose economic costs, since the federal government provides inadequate resettlement assistance to cities and states. About 60% of all new arrivals move to just four states — California, New York, Florida, and Texas — resulting in strains on local school systems, infrastructure, and the environment.

HOW MANY IMMIGRANTS ARE THERE?
(thousands of legal immigrants)

Main Categories	*1971-80 average/ year*	*1981-90 average/ year*	*1991*	*1992*
Family-sponsored	328	410	453	449
Employment-based	32	52	60	116
Refugees, Asylees	54	105	160	148
Other	26	34	31	46
SUBTOTAL	439	601	704	758
IRCA Legalization				
Legalized aliens	na	136	1,123	163
Dependents	na	na	na	52
TOTAL	439	737	1,827	973

Source: Statistical Yearbook, U.S. Immigration & Naturalization Service.

A NEW APPROACH

Despite the mounting evidence that immigration is not responsible for our current economic ills, it remains one of the most difficult issues for either the right or the left to reach a consensus on. While the nativist wing of the Republican Party wants sharp cuts in both legal and illegal migration, libertarians propose an "open borders" policy that would allow markets to set supposedly optimal migration and population levels. Many progressives favor reducing immigration in the hope that it will help stem the decline in union organizing and in job and wage prospects. But others on the left espouse open borders as a humanitarian gesture and/or as a means to redistribute income from rich to poor nations.

While individual immigrants and their families usually do raise their living standards by working abroad, exporting workers is a very inefficient approach to Third World economic development. Those with the motivation and resources to emigrate are seldom from the poorest segments of Third World populations, but rather are the semi-skilled and skilled. Their emigration represents a subsidy to the receiving country from the nation that trained them, as well as a loss of valuable talents to their homeland.

Migrants often do send sizeable remittances back home, but research shows that these typically increase income inequality and dependence on consumer imports among migrants' relatives, rather than helping to meet the social investment needs of their home countries. If the same amount of money was bundled in assistance packages from the West to progressive Third World governments, the long-term development benefits would be markedly greater.

Although research shows that current immigration levels do not harm native workers, an "open borders" policy, resulting in much-expanded immigration, might do so. Such a policy would also be likely to cause social and political disruption in the United States. For example, the Census Bureau estimates that even if annual immigration were only to rise to 1.4 million, by the year 2020 this would drive the U.S. population up to 340 million — nearly 90 million more than today. The foreign born would more than double their share of the country's population. History suggests that the more sudden are such large demographic shifts, the more likely they are to fuel racial frictions and a nativist backlash.

Rather than either highly liberalized or highly restrictive policies, a realistic progressive approach would combine a humanitarian admissions system with adequate protections of labor and living standards both here and abroad. This would require, first, ending the still-strong Cold War bias toward accepting largely economic migrants from Cuba, Indochina, Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union. Instead, the United States should give preference to genuine political refugees.

Where massive refugee displacements occur, as in the recent case of Haiti, multinational resettlement efforts should be made. The federal government, which alone controls immigration policy, must provide those states in which new arrivals are concentrated the financial aid they need to expand their services accordingly.

Next, we should oppose increased admissions of people based solely on their skills, a policy built into the 1990 law by pro-business groups. Instead of meeting supposed "skill shortages" by importing people trained elsewhere, the United States should finally commit the resources needed to provide first-class schooling and training for the rising numbers of less-skilled and underemployed Americans. As

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native workers are preparing to fill skilled openings, any short-term employer needs can be met by selectively granting the one- to two-year temporary visas already used under current law. These visas and the more than 300,000 student visas now granted each year will provide ample opportunity for foreigners seeking direct access to U.S. training. Occupational qualifications might still be one useful criterion for evaluating the large number of applications from relatives of U.S. residents.

So long as unlimited immigration between high- and low-income countries remains an unrealistic prospect, some form of border control will be necessary. But the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is terribly inefficient and understaffed. The INS needs thorough reorganization, as well as better screening, training, and supervision of its agents. This would help to expedite visa application and review processes, and to assure that the increasingly harsh treatment reported among detained undocumented aliens ceases.

To diminish the need of so many Third World workers to emigrate, the United States must end its historic pattern — from Vietnam to the Caribbean to Central America — of itself creating large displaced populations by giving military and economic support to repressive regimes. Recent revelations of CIA support for the opponents of Haiti's elected President, Jean Bertrand Aristide, are only the latest examples of this behavior.

The United States has also helped to aggravate unemployment in many countries, leading to greater emigration, through its influence on the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) policies. The IMF, which controls much of the lending available to Third World nations, has pushed its borrowers to engage in extreme privatization measures, causing untold economic damage. Instead, the United States should lead other rich nations in funding projects that foster sustainable development and job growth in poor countries. This could be partially financed by imposing "social tariffs" on the products of multinational companies whose labor and environmental safeguards are below acceptable levels. As capital becomes ever more mobile, the only way to reduce labor migration is through improving living and working standards in both sending and receiving countries.

The best way to curtail U.S. employers' preferences for the undocumented is to aggressively enforce health, safety, and other workplace labor standards, raise the minimum wage, and change labor laws to encourage greater unionization. This will reduce the competitive advantage of many firms relying on exploited migrants, at the same time that it betters the lot of both native- and legal foreign-born workers.

Immigration today remains essential to the basic humanitarian goals of offering a haven to refugees and reuniting families. It also offers a valuable source of cultural diversity and dynamism for this country. Since most research studies have found that, at least at recent levels, immigration is not responsible for adverse economic trends, efforts to cut immigration should be opposed, as should nativist efforts to widen racial and ethnic divisions. Rather than scapegoating immigrants for the worsening job prospects of so many Americans, we must place the blame where it belongs: on deindustrialization, deunionization, short-sighted corporate responses to global competition, and the government's economic policies of the past decade. ■

Resources: "Immigrants: How They're Helping the U.S. Economy," *Business Week*, July 13, 1992; *Inequality At Work: Hispanics in the U.S. Labor Force*, Gregory DeFreitas, 1991; Population Projections by Age, Sex, Race and Hispanic Origin: 1992-2050 U.S. Census Bureau, 1992; *The Effects of Immigration on the U.S. Economy and Labor Market*, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs, 1989.

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